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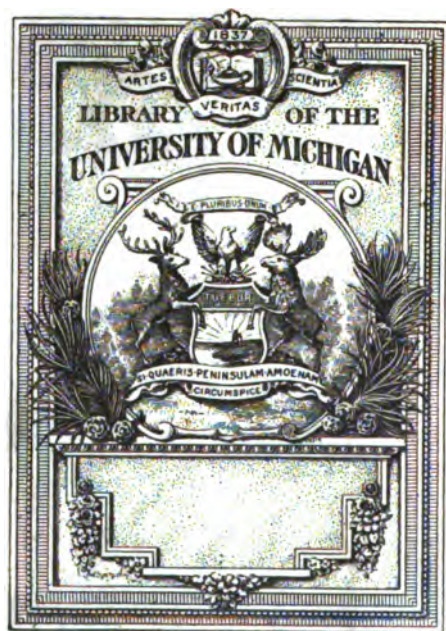
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THE
CRITICAL REVIEW
OF
THEOLOGICAL & PHILOSOPHICAL
LITERATURE

EDITED BY
PROFESSOR S. D. F. SALMOND, D.D.

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EDITORIAL NOTE.

THIS Magazine is designed to furnish quarterly a critical survey of current literature in Theology. It will also notice Philosophical writings, and others of more general interest, so far as they are related to Theological questions. All who have occasion to study the Theology or Philosophy of the Continent of Europe know the value of such organs as Harnack and Schürer's *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, Lipsius's *Theologischer Jahresbericht*, and others of kindred order. In our own country we have nothing exactly corresponding to these. It will be the object of this Magazine to supply this want as far as possible. It will give a chronicle of the more important publications which are issued from quarter to quarter. It will notice the articles of particular interest which appear in other Journals, home and foreign. It will devote special attention to providing reliable reviews of the more notable books of recent date. These will be signed reviews, prepared by scholars representing different lines of study and different branches of the Evangelical Church. No effort will be spared to make them interesting and informing.

The Magazine will not be the organ of any particular section of the Evangelical Church, but will be conducted in the interest of all its branches. It will study the wants of clergymen and students of Theology, but it will also address itself to all, whether lay or clerical, who give intelligent attention to the religious questions of the day. An expression of opinion which has come from many quarters shows that there is a place for a Magazine of this kind, and it is hoped that the *Critical Review* will be found helpful to a large circle

of readers. Its plan will be adapted to the requirements of the case as experience makes these apparent.

In issuing our first number we acknowledge the courtesy of the firms which have sent us copies of their publications. So many books have been received that it has been impossible to overtake them all at once. Some have come too late; others are reserved that they may be noticed at a length more befitting their importance than is practicable at present. Among these are the second series of *Studia Biblica*, Hume Brown's *George Buchanan*, Frazer's *The Golden Bough*, the second edition of Cave's *Scriptural Doctrine of Sacrifice*, Vaughan's *Epistle to the Hebrews*, Lefroy's *Christian Ministry*, Achelis's *Praktische Theologie*, Baur's *Zwingli's Theologie*, the second edition of Reuss's *Geschichte der heiligen Schriften Alten Testaments*, the concluding volumes of Gretillat's *Dogmatique* and Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte*. Our next number will also contain digests of some of the leading Theological Magazines.

The Seat of Authority in Religion.

By James Martineau. 8vo. Longmans & Co., London. 1890.

THIS is a large book, and it is not easy within our limits to give an adequate account of it. In particular, we must not attempt to trace the relations of the writer's thinking to other schools of thought. His leading positions are, substantially, not new; but there are many of those peculiarities of treatment and statement which mark an independent thinker; and the whole manner of exposition is fresh.

Dr Martineau has acquired for himself a warm regard in the minds of many persons who are not Unitarians. His assertion of a noble ethical doctrine against the Materialism and Utilitarianism of the age—his vindication of faith in God and immortality—the richness and depth of many passages in his directly religious writings, are gratefully acknowledged. Readers of all classes have felt not only the remarkable eloquence but the glow of conviction with which he has handled these great themes. To Christians of the orthodox churches, in particular, it has been interesting to note the place conceded by Dr Martineau to the life and teaching of Christ. One seemed to recognise a regard for Him that suffered little restraint from the negations of Unitarian theory.

These impressions will receive some check from the perusal of this book. They must do so; for the object of it is to let us know wherein the author differs from us, rather than where he agrees with us. Long ago Dr Martineau expressed a purpose or desire to write something in exposition of the theory of his religious position. That purpose, we take it, he has here fulfilled. Though the task has been delayed to a late period of life, the execution of it reveals no failure in power of thought; and it is remarkable for fertility and elasticity of eloquent expression.

The substance of Dr Martineau's positions may be stated in this way. The only actual, the only possible seat of authority in religion is, for each man, his own conscience. Man has the capacity of listening to the Divine voice, and recognising its claims; and under that guidance he can judge of truth and duty. There is no other, and certainly there is no higher authority, than that which thus speaks within the soul; and all other authorities, so styled, are illusory. This does not mean, however, that each man is shut up in himself so as to gain nothing from the religious attainments of others. There are men, and there are races, exceptionally eminent in this department, and they become the bearers and exponents of religious truth, life, and progress for the world. All such attainment comes most truly, most emphatically from God. It is something which men do not create, but which they receive. However, the divine light or impulse, as it comes to men, always mingles with elements less divine, and is tinged with colour not its own. It enters into human environments, and is interpreted by human experience and human imagination. It receives a vesture which more or less obscures it: it takes a shape in which it requires sifting. Still it is to be owned as a divine gift; it bears the stamp of its own divine worth, alike in the obscure and scanty forms in which it is found with those whose endowments are poorest, and in the more splendid attainments of exceptional souls.

Visitations from God, in the line of religious thought and feeling going beyond the average of human attainment, have been many. The most eminent are those of which the Greek and the Hebrew races have been the recipients; and of these the fruits are remarkably combined in the spirit and prevailing convictions of Teutonic civilisation. Here, then, Christianity takes its place as one of the great providential religious movements; and Jesus Christ stands forth as an exceptionally endowed religious man, and as the prince of religious teachers. But, for all that, Christianity has to be sifted, and indeed severely sifted. And in Jesus Christ Himself, were He now within our reach, or in the accounts of Him which, in fact, we possess, that only is authoritative for any of us which obtains the

verdict of the oracle within. This does not hinder communication, reciprocity, growth. New religious admonition, coming to us from others, may approve itself to the tribunal within, just because it awakens the sense of a purer or higher ideal than we had discerned before; so that henceforth that ideal is clear to us, standing revealed in its own evidence. This is indeed the process by which the religious training of the race has mainly been carried on. Still for each individual the authority which sifts, decides, approves, the alone legitimate authority is that which reveals itself in the conscience or through the religious intuition of his own soul. To receive anything merely on the report of another who is supposed to know, is irrelevant to religion. In religion the only authority is that which "strikes home and awakens the echoes in ourselves," so as to be "transferred from external attestation to self-evidence."

A man, therefore, has no right to subject himself to any external authority; for instance, to that of the Church, or of the Bible, or of Christ. These can only rank as sources of information and impression, from which materials of faith and life may be drawn. Such materials are only to be appropriated in so far as they obtain, in the case of each of us, the verdict of the supreme and proper authority—the voice that speaks within the soul.

If Dr Martineau's argument on these points is held to be successful, the questions on which he challenges the reader are closed. No rule of faith external to the man can then by any man be reasonably accepted. Revelation, as usually understood, is out of the question. Supposing it to have taken place, it could not validly operate in the minds of men as an authoritative divine communication. It could only be regarded after being sifted by the oracle within, and approved in so far as it awakened echoes there. For, indeed, Dr Martineau argues, however absolute the purity with which the divine communication might come to the inspired man, who can tell with what mixtures it may come *from* him? Hence our author proposes to reverse the distinction usually drawn between Natural and Revealed religion. Revealed religion, according to him, is to denote the divine light given to every

man who comes into the world—working in various degrees of fulness and clearness, and with great relative force and splendour in some. That is, really, Revelation from God. Natural religion, on the contrary, should be taken to denote the systems or developments of religion that have been worked out in human history—such as Paganism, Mohammedanism, or historical Christianity. All these exemplify the tendency of human nature to incorporate the religious truth or feeling, really given or awakened by God, in systems of mixed material, and to impute to the whole a divine authority that really belongs only to one element in the miscellaneous mass. This process has proved to be natural ; and all popular religions, inasmuch as they embody this process, may be called Natural Religions.

But Dr Martineau is not disposed to rest his conclusion purely on the lines of position and argument that have been indicated. He felt, no doubt, that Christians have found in practice so much to awaken in their hearts the sense of an authority to which to bow—a Revealer of God in whom to trust—that they were not likely to be persuaded to the contrary by mere general reasoning. Hence a large part of the book is devoted to a detailed criticism of Church and Bible. These are fixed upon as the two main pretenders, in Christian circles, to the character of authorities in religion.

In reference to them, Dr Martineau first undertakes to show that both alike are too uncertain in their evidence, too mixed in their materials, too conspicuously mistaken in demonstrable instances, to be admitted as rules of faith. Both convey much that is genuinely divine ; but in both the divine element is infused into a human environment of prejudices, myths, and misreports. Secondly, he supports his position by undertaking to point out leading elements of truth and goodness, which, in Christianity, have accreted around themselves an environment of dogma and of legend. External authority may be pleaded to maintain the credit of those accretions, but they must vanish away when the nature and the seat of the only legitimate religious authority has been recognised. Whatever of true and good may be in the Christianity of the Church or of the Bible, there is much also which is not true nor good.

The criterion by which the valid elements are to be distinguished is furnished by the enlightened conscience of the race, participated in and reproduced for his own guidance in each individual. No other criterion exists.

It may be as well to say that Dr Martineau's argument applies to the authority of Christ, as well as to that of Church or Bible. Perhaps an unwillingness to criticise too closely the regard due to one whom he venerates, led Dr Martineau to avoid separate discussion of the authority of Christ as a distinct alternative. It is enough for his purpose to maintain that for the teaching of Christ we must rely on the Bible, and that the report of it there given is mixed and untrustworthy, requiring to be sifted by religious criticism before we receive it. Still Dr Martineau by no means conceals the bearing of his principles in this regard. Supposing we had the teaching of Christ accurately reproduced for us, it could not be accepted as an external authority. With Him, as with all teachers, the divine element was wrapped in elements borrowed from the man and from the time. That teaching also needed sifting. Precious as it was, it appealed, and it appeals, so far as it has survived, to the oracle within.

It will be seen that the keynote of the whole book is clear enough. It virtually says, "Revelation, certainly—in the form of the intuitional assurance of which all men are capable, and which in some becomes more clear and commanding; some revelation to every man—much, comparatively, to some men and races, for their own good and that of others. Hence, as men participate in one another's thoughts, there is abundant suggestion, impulse, influence. But authority—none, save that within the soul, judging whatever comes from without."

The reader will also have anticipated that on these grounds the revelation of a remedial scheme—an Incarnation and an Atonement—is, for Dr Martineau, excluded. The religious intuition has regard exclusively to what is or ought to be, never to what has happened or is to happen. Christianity, therefore, as received by Dr Martineau, is purged of all that is not conformable to this canon. Christianity is the exhibition by Christ of the normal relations of the human soul, and

of the standing verities which those relations imply. The consciousness of these flowered out in Christ in a manner that was exceptional—so remarkably that, while we cannot defend all He thought and said, if we take our impressions of Him from the gospels, yet we may perhaps assume that what is objectionable arises mainly from the misunderstanding or misreporting of His biographers. But what the Christian has to do is not to adopt the opinions alleged to have been entertained by Christ, nor to believe doctrines about Him, but to reproduce in its main features Christ's personal religion, His consciousness and exercise of relation to God, to man, and to immortality.

This is a conception of Christianity which bleaches it, and which would have bereaved it of the greater part of its historical power and fruit. On this aspect of the case we do not mean to dwell. It might be a question whether Dr Martineau's theory of Authority in its own nature absolutely excludes all the elements of Christianity which he rejects. But it would be hardly worth one's while to controvert his own opinion on that point.

It has been noted that much of the book is devoted to a discussion of the claims of Scripture. The object is to show that the Bible, *e.g.*, the New Testament, considered in detail, will not stand sifting, and therefore cannot rank as a divine authority. This part of the book will make an impression. It falls in with tendencies that operate at present powerfully; and it is written with great keenness and vivacity—with all Dr Martineau's well-known power of stating a case and giving edge to an argument. Yet it is of little real weight, and it deserves no great consideration. It is a gathering together of results of rapid reading among recent writers, German and other, who have discussed the history and the meaning of the Biblical books. It is no reproach to Dr Martineau that he is not a first hand labourer in this field. But we do not find there any signs of a close and impartial survey of the evidence furnished by others. Every theory is good enough if it makes in support of his conclusion. The sketch has this value, however, that it shows the conception of early Christianity and its literature, which, *at present*, seems to a man of great ability

and a fine literary artist, to be the most tenable and plausible in connection with the denial of supernatural * Revelation.

In carrying on this argument, Dr Martineau sometimes reasons as if complete accuracy, and absolute authority in all details, must characterise a book which is to rank as inspired and authoritative. On this head there are differences of opinion among those who hold the Bible as inspired and authoritative. But they are all agreed that the Bible is so constructed as to call upon us to distinguish what it mainly designs to teach from matters that are accessory and incidental. And they all hold, further, that our conclusions are not meant to be so confident in matters of the latter kind as they may and ought to be in matters of the former. There is nothing unreasonable in this view: there is nothing in it inconsistent with the hypothesis of divine authority. And whether it is explained by holding that God did not preserve Scripture writers from mistakes in minor matters, or that He did not lead them so to write as to guard *us* from mistakes if we draw peremptory conclusions, makes no difference to the general argument now before us. It is substantially the same thing put in another way, if we say that the question of the nature and effects of Inspiration, however important for some purposes, is not fundamental in the Christian argument. What is fundamental is that in Scripture, revealing God in Christ, we have a message from God that is supernatural and authoritative; and that Holy Scripture is the instrument of the Holy Ghost for communicating that message and regulating all our thoughts about it. How far the character which attaches to the Revelation, as a whole, is to be ascribed also to every sentence of Scripture is a subsequent question, the answer to which depends on what Scripture claims for itself, or what it reveals as to the Divine method in these communications, and partly also on the experience of the heart in the progressive use of the Bible. In arguing the question of an authoritative revelation, the Christian is not bound to defend a specific view of the effect of Inspiration. It is enough to maintain that the main purport of the Bible is

* i.e., Using the word in its accepted sense. In his own sense Dr Martineau holds the supernatural.

clear, that it is a supernatural communication from God, and that as such it comes with authority.

We do not, then, regard these chapters, in which Dr Martineau puts forward in a version of his own the grounds usually relied on by opponents of revealed religion, as very interesting; and while they will, as we have said, make an impression, we cannot regard them as of any permanent importance. We feel far more interest in the use made by Dr Martineau of the fundamental position on which his book rests. He has raised once again the question of the Reason of Faith, and his treatment of it has a fresh element; because, while maintaining in substance the position of Deism, he maintains in a sense a divine ground of Faith—that is to say, a ground of the highest and surest kind. At the same time he restricts this faith, in the case of each man, to the revelation made within that man—whatever outward occasions may have led to his illumination: and so he denies the competency of every external authority to produce religious conviction, or to ground faith. In all this Dr Martineau seems to take his place beside those who have held the highest views as to the nature and grounds of Christian Faith. From this position he raises the question whether an external historical revelation is possible. He tells us that there may be valid assurance as to the religious truth which evidences itself to our hearts by an immediate divine witness. But there can be no valid assurance in any other line. God has not dealt with us, and He could not deal with us, by an order of words and works leading up to an Incarnation. He could not provide a historical and recorded revelation, fitted to be the common guide of men, the common element and nourishment of their religious life. If He could interpose beyond the lines of ordinary providence, to heal and to save, He could not assure us of it. Men are not so constituted as to be recipient of valid communications in lines like these.

Waiving questions as to the precise way of conceiving the intuitional evidence, we concede to Dr Martineau that he has done well to emphasise the direct witness of God to the human spirit. This is the conclusive, the essentially proper evidence in the things of God. Our readers must be too

familiar with the testimony of the older Protestant theology in this line to need a rehearsal of it. If it was in some degree overlooked under the influence of the school of Grotius and Paley, yet it has never been wholly forgotten. The conclusive evidence is the voice of God, audible and recognised in His word. This principle has its application, not only at the gateway of religious truth, but all along our use of it, and conversancy with it. Dr Martineau now asks, can this evidence apply to any but main fundamental things in the relation of the soul to God? Is it not an obvious fallacy to try to make it cover such a complex as the teaching of the Church or the teaching of the Bible? Does it not come to this, that you can have religious certification of what is religiously authentic in the Bible or anywhere else; but that certification is given from within, does not come from without? Church, Bible, everything of that kind, comes to us not to authorise, but to receive authority, so far as the inward oracle finds that to be due. The interest of all this lies here, that Dr Martineau consciously and deliberately formulates what many people have been tending to without any clear consciousness where they were going.

But thus to isolate the principle of the direct witness of God to the individual soul, is to overlook the true condition of man and to mistake the method of God.

In the first place, man is a unity, and is dealt with as a unity. However various and distinguishable his capacities may be, they are in the fellowship of man's single individual life, and each may furnish an avenue to the same central sanctuary. The religious life and experience may have its own peculiar quality and its own appropriate ground of faith. But it gives and takes. It lends and borrows. It tinges the other elements of life, and is tinged by them, and as it acquires intellectual and sensuous aspects, so the other elements acquire religious interest and significance. In particular, it is not true that the religious evidence which establishes in us the persuasion of divine verities is of the nature of a single thread. It weaves, and we need that it should weave, a complex rope of various fibres, with each of which an element of persuasion is felt peculiar to itself. The persuasion in the

mind of man that God is, may have one central appropriate reason, if one could clearly discriminate it and adequately state it. But in practice that conviction must thrill into our being along many a line of evidence and many a chain of impressions.

In the next place, the evidence or ground of assurance concerning which Dr Martineau speaks so well, is not always clear and conclusive in practice—particularly, it often fails to be so when it is contemplated apart from all other considerations. It is so venerable, authentic, and precious, that one is apt to think of it as always luminous and conclusive. But in practice it is not so. That is to say, the man concerned, who may be conscious that such evidence is desirable and perhaps attainable, may yet find it hard to be sure of the accents of the Divine voice. He may be dubious as to the range of truth which it commends or conveys to him: he may find it difficult to separate what the authentic testimony applies to from that which is mixed up with it in his own way of thinking; he may find his own confusions intensified by the confusions in other minds. For men's minds *are* confused: they have become obtuse and dull with respect to the higher interests; they are bewildered by the voices that make themselves heard in the inner chamber of the soul. And therefore the testimony is often heard faintly and doubtfully; what it certifies is apprehended vaguely, or not at all. That this is so cannot be questioned; neither Dr Martineau nor any one else would deny it. The existence and personal character of God, Providence, Prayer, Immortality, are all, in practice, debatable and debated. Also, many who have no wish to debate these articles are yet unfixed and changeable in their thoughts about them. It is important to note this. For, let it be repeated, when a divine testimony in the soul is spoken of, one is apt to take for granted that it must be cogent and conclusive in an incomparable degree and in every case. It may be so, in the case of certain souls, in ascertaining to these some great verities. Also, as to many men or all, it is exerting some influence,—yet often, to their apprehension, but vaguely, so as to produce rather a wistful than an established state of mind.

This leads to the consideration of the fitting method for God to take in dealing with men. And much may be said for the fitness of combining different lines of evidence, so as to exhibit a convergence or concurrence of separate indications—of the outward with the inward, of the historical with the ideal, and so on. This, in fact, is the method of the Christian evidence.

Observe how we are dealt with. We all begin with external authorities. We do so in every branch of knowledge, even in those in which we speedily become aware of the necessary character of the matter in hand. Certainly we begin so in religion. Parents and teachers instruct us, and the Church surrounds us with elements of knowledge and impression. We may become aware, by-and-by, of more inward and abiding authority, and, indeed, we very early begin to have convictions in religion and morals that hold us in a more inward manner than mere instruction could achieve. Still, we begin with authorities which command our respect, and which shape our education. Men may be more or less happily situated in this respect. The authorities under which their course began may long retain their reverence, or may early begin to be suspected. But authority has its place in the formation of opinion and character. Also, when the teaching of venerated authorities concurs with the growing impression of our own minds as to the true and good, convictions so formed have a depth and vigour rarely acquired on other terms.

Still, the authorities so far referred to are not infallible, and their sentence is not final. It is legitimate for us to revise their teaching, and to reject, at all events, what proves to be inconsistent with evident truth and goodness. That should hold us which, in God's sight, and under the consciousness of our relation to Him, we perceive to claim our assent or to command our love and veneration. Yet we need not forget how much those early authorities may have to do with training us to discern that Highest voice, and to deal faithfully with its authority.

Inasmuch as the authorities now referred to are granted not to be final, Dr Martineau would maintain that they are not pro-

perly authorities at all. They are merely channels by which the experience or the beliefs of the race reach us. Of course Dr Martineau grants that men, being social, must take part in the experience of one another, and must profit by doing so. But in his view, we take it, all this falls under the head of suggestion and impression. Materials of thought and feeling reach us in this way which await the sentence proceeding from the sole seat of authority within. We, on the other hand, hold that the influences described operate, and for certain stages cannot but operate *as authorities*, though they are only provisional authorities, and their sentence is subject to review.

The view now given of our position and training as human beings suggests in turn a further question. Might there not be an authority in the same line, operating in substantially the same manner, less fallible, less provisional, less transient in its function than those authorities are? Might it not be so constituted, might it not so operate, as not to bar the converse of the soul with that inner voice, but rather to stimulate such converse and give precision and clearness to it? Might not the progressive concurrence of these two witnesses give us a better grounded confidence in the teachings of each?

According to the Christian faith this is so. The mere fact that the Bible so powerfully and variously evokes the witness which speaks for God within us, may mean no more, Dr Martineau argues, than that somehow the Bible has a great deal of true religion in it. But this witness combines itself with a complex situation not to be so summarily disposed of. The Bible discloses a revealing process of which it is itself the effect. That process, entering into the history of the world, has made proof of its nature and source. It claimed to be nothing less than God making Himself objective in the religious history of men—approaching us not merely through the hidden avenues of our individual consciousness, but outwardly in the plane of facts and events. It is claimed that He broke the silence and spoke, put aside the veil and wrought, in an order of words and works, specifically His own, leading up to and crowned by the Incarnation. This history is for us embodied in a literature—no otherwise could it live for us and

for the world. In this literature, the revealing process finds its voice and continues to be vocal; and as it utters the mind of God in Christ, it becomes for men the Word, the voice of which is gone out into all the world.

The evidence of the reality of all this is exceedingly various. It would be a long story to set forth by how many avenues the persuasion reaches us of the historicity of this process, of its moral continuity and progress, of its religious depth and vitality, of its mighty works and wonders, of its great personalities in fellowship with God, its prophecies, its psalms, above all its crowning and sealing Person, full of grace and truth. The inward witness only assures us that we are not mistaking the character of this great phenomenon, of which the various aspects touch us at a thousand points. But when we have come so far, then we know that God has spoken—we know that He has been holding fellowship with men as one who stands over against them, not less than as one who is within them. And it becomes our right to deal with the Revelation with a sense of expectancy, and with a recognition of authority.

Such a revealing process by no means supersedes the inner fellowship with God and the longing for His presence. Indeed no other influence in this world has so stimulated and sustained that faith and longing. It remains true, that every disclosure which comes to us through the Scripture only reveals its full divine significance, only opens its final and conclusive evidence when God meets us in it. John Bunyan tells us how in his early religious life his pastor used to admonish him that God must set him down and root him in the truths which he seemed to find in the Word, otherwise he should not have stability and abiding profit. All is not done as soon as we have read our Bibles. Yet we may be persuaded that here we are in the region where God is emphatically teaching, both in things which have been made sure to us by an inward witness, and also in things which we are only in progress to understand, to discern in their true meaning, and to feel in their divine influence.

It has been said that this revealing process is a history, a part of the history of the world, and that the literature which embodies it for us has also its history. One of the delusions

that beset the discussion of these topics may be noted in this connection. It seems to be thought that so far as the Bible is the record of a history, and has a history of its various writings, there can be no legitimate persuasion about it, until an elaborate process of learned historical demonstration has satisfied us of our right to be persuaded; also, that when ingenious doubts about questions of date, authorship, &c., are suggested, we must logically remain in suspense about the historical revelation until by clear historical proof the doubts have been rejected and removed. Then it is asked, as Dr Martineau asks, whether we can suppose that unlearned and busy men have been required to accept a revelation which needs all those processes to be gone through before it can be believed. We cherish, it need hardly be said, a lively sense of the value of the learned labour bestowed in this department. But we can assure all whom it concerns that the difficulty supposed to arise for believers is unreal and unfelt. That the Bible history is, *in the main*, real history, can be the valid persuasion of everyone who seriously reads it. Only imagine a reader who should seriously think that from beginning to end it was an invention! Hence a man who cannot investigate all details may have a most legitimate persuasion of the serious interest attaching to the pages of his Bible. And when once he is persuaded of the truth of a Revealing God, who has sent His word into the world that man may hear and live, he may very well tell the critics that until they can present him with a *more* authentic account of that revealed word, he will abide by what he has, as in the main reliable—as the only record that even pretends to preserve and disclose the main articles of God's message—and as one that daily reveals its worth to his heart.

Our parents put into our hands in our early days the New Testament, as the source of and authority for their own teachings. We receive it, we imbibe its teaching. By-and-bye we become aware of all those discussions of the critics which Dr Martineau sets forth so largely, the doubts about dates, authors, influences supposed to have biassed the writers, and all the rest of it. But, after all, for him who believes that God has spoken by His Son, the fact remains that the New Testament

is the genuine historical product of the appearance of Jesus Christ in the world. No man can give us anything nearer, anything fuller, anything that reflects more accurately the forces set in motion in the world of mind by that event. No one can deprive us, unless we choose, of the impression of the unique character and priceless worth of those brief books, as disclosing Jesus Christ, and the effects of His coming. And in these circumstances shall I resign my faith that God meant me to learn here His mind in Christ, because it is not yet clear how the critics are to come to an understanding with the literary history of the century that followed Christ's death?

There are two things in the divine method as commonly understood by Christians which deserve a word before we close.

In the first place, it is the only method fitted to confirm faith and give assurance. The concurrence of the outward and the inward have this effect, and nothing can make up for the want of it. It has been pointed out already that the intuitional assurance, on which Dr Martineau solely relies, is not in practice so clear and conclusive as he seems to persuade himself. Now Dr Martineau recognises the influence in this department of powerful personalities, and of great crises in the religious history of the world. Impulse goes from mind to mind; and while the conclusive evidence is that which is pressed in upon our own inward consciousness, the knowledge that others have experienced and are experiencing the same feelings goes some way to certify us that we are not deceived. But a man may be in sympathy with a school, or with a section of the race, and yet be deceived. And for very many minds the question must return with immense force, How do I know that I am not misled by feelings or wishes, that I and others are not mistaking the testimony to which we seem to listen? A credible Revelation embodied in the history of the world, countersigned by the witness of the Spirit in the heart, up to the measure of the believer's progress, makes a great change in all this. It gives us a peculiar and vivid assurance of the truth, which Dr Martineau also values, that we are not merely dealing with *something*, but with *Some One*.

In the second place, thus only can there reach us any assurance of divine care proportioned to our need, of redemption, of promises, of the love that saves. Dr Martineau's intuitional assurance can be no more than an illumination of the permanent conditions of spiritual existence. Under that category he would make a more generous estimate than some do of the truths that can be reached, and of the measure in which they can be suffused with hope and aspiration. But that is all. According to his theory there can be no interruption of the silence of God—no movement but the even thrill of his great existence for ever upon the spiritual natures in contact with it—no incarnation, no atonement, no great and precious promises, no covenant ordered and sure. How much those who think with Dr Martineau may retain, when they have dismissed all this, is not a question for us to put. But on such terms how could the great saying ever have received the fulness of its meaning, We have believed the love that God hath to us—God is Love?

We may close with a passage in which Dr Martineau measures the extent of his divergence from the historical Christian Churches, p. 650:—

“As I look back on the foregoing discussions a conclusion is forced upon me, on which I cannot dwell without pain and dismay: viz., that Christianity as defined or understood in all the Churches which formulate it has been mainly evoked from what is transient or perishable in its sources; from what is unhistorical in its traditions, very mythological in its pre-conceptions, and misapprehended in the oracles of its prophets. From the fall of Eden to the imagination of the last trumpet the whole story of the Divine order of the world is dislocated and deformed. The blight of birth-sin with its involuntary perdition; the scheme of expiating redemption with its vicarious salvation; the incarnation with its low postulates of the relation of God and man, and its unworkable doctrine of two natures in one person; the official transmission of grace through material elements in the keeping of a consecrated corporation; the second coming of Christ to summon the dead and part the sheep from the goats at the general judgment; all are the growth of a mythical literature, or Messianic

dreams, or Pharisaic theology, or sacramental superstition, or popular apotheosis." But it must be added that not merely the churches have failed in Dr Martineau's view to represent aright the genesis of Christianity. The New Testament writers too have failed to understand and reproduce it. Peter, Paul, John, the writer to the Hebrews, are all involved in the like censure. They all believed in a real revelation, and they were all wrong. What a mystery it has all been, and what a mistake !

ROBERT RAINY.

**Briefe und Erklärungen von I. von Döllinger über die
Vaticanischen Decrete, 1869-1887.**

*München, Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1890. Edinburgh,
Williams & Norgate.*

It is natural at the present time, when the deaths of two such men as Döllinger and Newman are so recent, to compare the two together ; and the making of such a comparison is almost inevitable in the case of those who have had the happiness of knowing both of them. Within a few months of one another both have gone to a well-earned rest, the one in his ninety-first, the other in his ninetieth year. Their ends were in some respects strikingly similar. Each until within a few days of his death was in his usual state of health, which, in Döllinger's case, was one of extraordinary vigour. Each was unconscious for some time before the end came, and was able to receive extreme unction only without the *viaticum*. Both of them carried with them to the grave an amount of veneration and affection such as is earned by few, and won by still fewer ; and this veneration and affection, in the case of Döllinger certainly, and in the case of Newman probably, is most widely felt and cherished among those who are not members of the communion to which the objects of it belonged. It is equally obvious to remark that their ends were in one respect strikingly different. The one died as a prince of that Church which in his earlier days he had ferociously attacked as anti-Christian ; the other died excommunicated by the same

Church, of which he had for half a century been the most distinguished ornament.

A comparison of the lives and work of the two theologians would carry this article far beyond its proper limits: but a perusal of the little volume before us will convince anyone who is acquainted with the later writings of Cardinal Newman, how impossible it was that the two should agree about the recent developments of doctrine and practice which have taken place in the Church of Rome. The present writer on more than one occasion has acted as a means of communication between the two, each writing or saying to him what it was tacitly understood was to be conveyed to the other, although neither cared to write to the other direct; and he long ago came to the conclusion that the difference between the point of view of each was too fundamental for either to come over to the other, or for any half-way house to be found. The one took his stand upon historical facts, which for every competent student of history are indisputable, and which admit of only one reasonable interpretation. The other staked everything upon the inerrancy of a divinely guided authority; and for him the fact that this authority had given a decision, at once made well attested historical facts disputable, or made what would otherwise have been strained and improbable interpretations of them reasonable. The present intensely interesting collection of declarations and letters gives us in a short compass the main historical facts which Dr Döllinger considered to be absolutely fatal to the truth of the dogma respecting the infallibility of the pope, and the reasons which for nineteen years prevented him from "submitting" even to the pope with the whole of the Roman episcopate at his back, when this authority required him to believe as necessary to salvation a *new* article of faith, and an article which reason and lifelong study convinced him *could* not be true.

Of the twenty-eight documents in this collection, the editing of which we owe to Professor Reusch, four (1, 2, 3, 10) are already well known; and one or more of them may be found in Quirinus, or Pomponio Leto, or *The New Reformation*, as well as elsewhere. Several others have appeared

in newspapers and periodicals. But the editor has done well to give all these once more to the world to explain and complete that which now appears for the first time. The four well-known documents are—the pamphlet of “Considerations for the Bishops of the Council respecting the question of Papal Infallibility,” which appeared anonymously (October, 1869); two articles in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* on the address which certain members of the Vatican Council made to the pope requesting him to declare his own infallibility, and on the new order of business in the Council and its theological significance (January 21st and March 11th, 1870); and lastly, the famous reply to Archbishop Scherr of Munich, when the latter, himself a former opponent of the dogma, called upon Döllinger, on pain of excommunication, to submit to it (March 28th, 1871). These four we must do no more than mention, in the hope that those who cannot read them in the original in the present volume will take note of them as authorities to be sought for in one or other of the volumes mentioned above. They are indispensable to every one who would have an intelligent grasp of the infallibility question. The extracts for which space can be found here shall be taken from the letters in this collection which have never been published before.

Of the various persons who write to Dr Döllinger with a view to his “conversion,” or “submission,” or “reconciliation with the Church,” the only one who uses anything that is worthy of being called argument is Archbishop Scherr. His successor Archbishop Steichele, Bishop Hefeles, the Papal Nuncio Ruffo Scilla, and a lady of rank, whose name is not given, content themselves with urging him to save his soul from inevitable damnation, or to make angels and men rejoice by abandoning his errors. Even Bishop Hefeles, whose submission was an amazement to all who knew how much he knew of Church history, does not give a word of explanation as to how a student of history could accept the dogma, but has only weak entreaties to send. The revelation of this fact must be a blow to the infallibilists. It was known that Hefeles had written to Döllinger, June, 1886, and that Döllinger had sent him no answer; and it was confidently

asserted, in more than one ultramontane paper, that Döllinger's friends would not dare to publish this unanswered, and (it was supposed) unanswerable letter. The appeal which it contains is almost grotesque in its feebleness.

The red thread which runs through Döllinger's replies to the four other correspondents is the following :—

“ Since the beginning of the Vatican Synod I have publicly and repeatedly maintained the opposite doctrine, and have supported it with many arguments. I should, therefore, have both to refute myself and publicly prove that the doctrine which I have taught both in former days, and with special emphasis in recent times, is a false and perverted doctrine. Were I not to do this, assuredly no human being, no one at any rate who knows anything of my writings and public declarations, would believe in the sincerity of my submission. The whole world, both near and far (a few nuns perhaps excepted), would stigmatize me as a gross, conscienceless hypocrite, who, out of fear for himself and his position, was willing to deny his convictions.”

To the lady of rank he writes in 1880, that it might suffice to refer a correspondent of the other sex to the facts and arguments which he had published in 1871, when he was requested to submit to the Vatican decrees ; “ facts and arguments of which, according to a conviction that is more strongly confirmed in me than ever, every one remains unrefuted and irrefutable.” But she has probably never seen the document, or has never thought it worthy of inspection : which is natural enough, for of course she has been told that all he has maintained is untrue. Yet he ventures to direct her attention to one or two circumstances, which may possibly moderate her judgment respecting him.

“ I am now in my eighty-first year, and for forty-seven years I have been a public teacher of theology ; and in all this long time not a single censure or even a demand for explanation has ever reached me from any ecclesiastical authority at home or abroad. The new articles of faith, which have been set up by Pius IX. with his council, I *never* taught. In my youth, when I was a student at Bamberg and Würzburg, they were regarded as theological opinions, and many added that they

were badly founded opinions. For me, who for nearly half a century had had to work day by day at these subjects and the questions connected with them, the conviction grew stronger and stronger, that these doctrines and claims are not only biblically, traditionally, and historically baseless and erroneous, but also long before they were raised to the rank and binding force of articles of faith, had had the most pernicious effects upon Church, State, and society. Then came the fatal year 1870. If I obeyed the demand that I should swear to the new dogma, I thereby declared myself a teacher of error, and not only myself, but my teachers now dead, and a number of friends and colleagues, who found themselves in the like situation. In vain I begged that I might be left with the faith and confession to which I had hitherto without blame or contradiction remained loyal. Yesterday still orthodox, I was to-day a heretic worthy of excommunication, not because I had changed my doctrine, but because others had thought proper to institute a change and to turn opinions into articles of faith." She will tell him that he must make a "sacrifice of his intellect." But what then becomes of his belief in Christianity? That too is based upon historical facts. If he cannot trust his intellect respecting the facts which convince him of the falsehood of the new dogma, how can he trust it respecting the facts which convince him of the truth of Christianity? "If my bishop would declare to me, 'I will release you from excommunication on condition that you will believe and confess what Bossuet and Fénelon and hundreds of the most saintly and learned bishops with them have taught respecting the pope,' who would be more ready than I?"

To Archbishop Steichele, an old pupil of his, whose letters, although devoid of strength, are at least affectionate and reverential, he writes that he had been at work on a detailed reply, but that the material had grown to such an extent (it is to be hoped that it is in existence), that he could not venture to inflict it on him. He must content himself with mentioning a few facts.

"The curse of excommunication, which the Chapter of this cathedral in the name of your predecessor caused to be published against me from every pulpit, I am still unable to

recognize as anything but an act of violence and injustice. I had expressly offered myself for instruction and public refutation. That I at the same time begged to be allowed to speak and to have my misgivings heard was more than reasonable, and would have been in accordance with ecclesiastical precedent. The counsellors of the archbishop were of course certain of victory: in their eyes the falseness of all that I maintain was, and is, clear as day; they were therefore convinced that the discussion could only lead to my public discomfiture and confusion, and that for me there would then naturally remain no alternative, but to accept the bestowed instruction with gratitude and humility, and to profess my submission. *Pertinacia*, therefore, on my side manifestly did not exist; and your Grace knows that, where this is wanting, a sentence of excommunication for dogmatic dissent is null and void. The way in which I was treated is in truth a proceeding *without a parallel* in ecclesiastical history. It has never before come to pass, that an old man, who in forty-five years of public teaching has never incurred even a single episcopal reproof or censure, whose orthodoxy previously had never been subjected to a single authenticated suspicion, has been forthwith, without so much as being heard in his defence, handed over—according to the formula in vogue—to Satan.” He assures the archbishop that there was a time when he sincerely *wished* to be able to accept and prove the papal system. He worked hard for many years, and collected an amount of material far more complete than is to be found in any printed work. “I do not believe that a single witness of any importance has escaped me.” The result amounted to demonstration, so far as demonstration is possible in history; and he saw that he must abandon the idea of writing a history of the papacy. For his work would at once be placed on the Index; and then he must either make a hypocritical submission or abandon his work as university professor, “to which I clung with my whole soul. . . . I say it to myself daily, that I am a frail mortal, perpetually going wrong in many ways. My whole intellectual life has been in the main a continual correcting and laying aside of opinions and views previously formed and embraced.

I am not conscious that I have ever obstinately closed my mind against a better insight,—at least I cannot recall any such case. Even my most cherished opinions, although at first with a heavy heart, I have surrendered, so soon as it became clear to me that they were untenable."

Every Roman priest at his ordination takes an oath that he will interpret Scripture according to the tradition of the Church and the unanimous consensus of the Fathers. It is notorious that the Vatican decrees are based on interpretations of Scripture which are utterly at variance with patristic exegesis, and which not a single Father of the first four or five centuries admits. Döllinger says that he has asked a number of his brother clergy how they reconcile acceptance of the decrees with their oath. The answer was always either evasive or an awkward shrug of the shoulders. They said that this was a matter of detail, with which individual priests had no need to meddle; or that it was of the very essence of faith to surrender oneself blindly and without examination to the hierarchy *now living*, and to leave it to them to reconcile contradictions. "I need not tell you what impression such pitiable evasions made upon me."

In his reply to the Nuncio Ruffo Scilla (October 12th, 1887), Döllinger says:—

"I know from a number of irreproachable witnesses, from statements which they have let fall, that the council of the Vatican was not free, that the means there used were menaces, intimidations, and seductions. I know it from bishops, whose letters I hold, or who have told it to me by word of mouth. The very Archbishop of Munich who excommunicated me, came to me the day after his return from Rome, and told me certain details which left in me no doubt. It is true that all these prelates have made their submission: they all agreed to say, by way of excuse, 'We do not wish to make a schism.' *I also do not wish to be a member of a schismatical society: I am isolated.*"

This last sentence seems to settle the question whether Dr Döllinger was a member of the Old Catholic communion. A little further on he writes:—

"And here, Monseigneur, I venture to bring before you a

characteristic fact. When the archbishop, obeying (as he stated) the orders of the pope, communicated to me the sentence pronounced against me, he conveyed to me the information that I was subject to all the penalties which are imposed by canon law upon excommunicated persons. The first and the most important of these penalties is contained in the celebrated bull of Pope Urban II., which decides that any one in the world may kill an excommunicated person, when his motive for doing so is zeal for the Church. At the same time he caused sermons to be preached against me in all the pulpits in Munich; and the effect of these declamations was such, that the head of the police informed me that attacks on my person were being planned, and that I should do well to avoid going out without company. May I venture to raise the question, Monseigneur, whether, in the event of my submission, I should be obliged to declare to the world that I find this decision of the infallible pope to be in perfect conformity with the morality of the Gospel?"

These extracts will probably suffice to prove the value and the interest of this small collection of documents. It tends to show that the Church of Rome does *not* always know what to do with men of genius and exceptional force of character. That she should have made no use of Newman, and should have cast away Döllinger, are dark blots in her history, in a century which for her is full of grievous stains.

ALFRED PLUMMER.

Alttestamentliche Theologie.

*Von Ed. Riehm, bearbeitet u. herausgegeben von K. Pahncke.
Halle, 1889. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate.*

PROFESSOR RIEHM of Halle was born in 1830, and died at the age of fifty-eight. His life was an active one, and enthusiastically devoted to Biblical study. His largest work published during life was his *Lehrbegriff des Hebräerbriefs*, certainly the fullest discussion of the teaching of that epistle which exists. Another work which has laid students of Scrip-

ture under the greatest obligations is his Dictionary to the Old Testament, the information in which, though condensed, is sufficiently exhaustive, and may always be relied upon. Riehm took an active part in the discussions on critical questions which prevailed in his day, and numerous papers from his hand appeared in the magazines, particularly the *Studien*. These articles were always characterized by candour and by complete command of the facts. Some of the more important of them have been published separately, such as the Essay on the "Idea of Atonement" in the Old Testament, and that on Messianic prophecy, a little work in which the author's scientific thoroughness and fairness as well as his religious reverence are conspicuous. His college lectures on Old Testament theology were greatly admired by those who listened to them, and many requests for their publication were addressed to him by former students, which were not complied with owing to want of time, and the fact that a professor in active duty cannot afford to part with lectures which contain the best work of his life. Only a few sections were written out so as to be fit for the press, and it has fallen to others to edit from the college papers left behind him both his Old Testament theology and his Introduction. How thoroughly he was accustomed to go into critical questions may be inferred from the fact that the latter work extends to over a thousand pages.

The editor names the discussions here given, "Old Testament Theology;" and the name is usual. A theology of the Old Testament, however, is really an impossibility, because the Old Testament is not a homogeneous whole. We see the religious truths or beliefs presented there coming into existence in connection with historical events extending over a thousand years. Instead of an Old Testament theology the utmost that can be given is, A historical view of the religion of Israel; or, of the religion of Revelation during the Old Testament period. The truths or beliefs can neither be exhibited nor understood apart from the history. Feeling that Old Testament theology is a historical science (to use that grandiloquent term), Riehm has sought to do as much justice as was possible to the historical element in it by divid-

ing the Old Testament age into three great periods, which he names Mosaism, Prophetism, and Judaism. Then he discusses the main religious beliefs, such as those regarding God, man, sin, atonement, immortality, prevalent within these periods respectively, connecting the periods together by brief historical narratives which signalize the events that were significant in a religious sense, and gave rise to new conceptions or institutions, and thus led over from one period to another. This method is undoubtedly the fairest, though it involves some repetition. It involves also a critical decision as to what literature has to be assigned to the respective periods, a difficulty, however, which has to be faced by the writer on Old Testament theology, whatever method he pursue. In spite of the interesting nature of these historical links connecting the periods together, and notwithstanding the skill with which the author in many cases seizes the significant *momenta* of the history, the reader will rise from his work without any very clear conception of the progress of religious ideas in Israel. The author's mind was undoubtedly theological rather than historical, and hence the value of his work lies less in the general view which he gives and the general impression regarding the Old Testament which he leaves, than in the individual discussions of particular doctrines and beliefs. Here his work makes a contribution of great value. Such essays, for they amount to this, as those on "holiness" (p. 64 *seq.*), on "righteousness" (p. 270 *seq.*), on the idea of "atonement" (p. 129 *seq.*), on Messianic prophecy, on the place of prayer in the Old Testament religion, on the idea of Jerusalem or Zion as the religious centre and its continued prevalence, and many others, are without analogy in works on the Old Testament. Even in these discussions the want of a historical interest or a historical instinct is curiously apparent. He remarks, for example, that in the Law the "righteousness," whether of God or man is never spoken of, but invariably their "holiness;" and corresponding to this sin is "uncleanness." This "holiness," which is not an attribute but exhausts the nature of God and the relations of man to him, is certainly a very extraordinary conception, but it does not occur to the author to ask how it could have arisen, nor to seek for any historical

explanation of it. Again he remarks truly that the sacrifices in the Law have reference only to those offences called sins of ignorance, and not to wilful transgressions, but the need of any explanation of this very remarkable distinction is not felt. The discussion on the idea of atonement, though one of the most interesting in the book, particularly in those parts of it where the positions of Ritschl are criticised, leaves the matter very much where it found it. Nothing, he assures us, has atoning efficacy from its own nature; whatever atones derives its efficacy from God's appointment. Ordinarily no offering but the blood or life of a living creature atones. Blood atones for no reason but because God so appointed; and if a reason be asked, why he appointed blood or life, there was no reason beyond this that there is a certain congruity, lying in the similarity of the life of a creature to that of man—for atonement consists in covering the individual person, and so protecting him from the fatally destructive reaction of the divine nature against him in his uncleanness. Apart from any subsequent revelation the reader of the Old Testament will be loath to accept the idea that the divine appointment was so completely arbitrary; and he will be hard to persuade that those who practised the ritual did not attach to the blood deeper and more mystical meaning than Riehm allows. And as for his definition of atonement, like Job's friends, he has plentifully declared the thing as it is; but to restate the symbolism falls short of interpreting it. To "cover" the person was an ideal thing, for the blood was not applied to the person, it was only brought before the eye of God; and the "reaction of the divine nature" was also ideal, for mere physical reaction is too crass a notion to be entertained. Probably also the threatened penalty of "cutting off" was equally ideal. We are here in the region of "holiness," and the first thing needful is a clear setting asunder of the relations of holiness to "righteousness." The Old Testament doctrine of atonement is given in terms of the divine holiness, and holiness has in it elements of the local, the æsthetic, the instinctively "natural," and the personal or egoistic; and the definition to be understood by us must be translated, so much of it as is translatable, into a definition in terms of "righteousness."

Riehm's inclination was to conservatism in theology and criticism, though not in any blind or obstinate manner. It would be unjust to say that he made many concessions to the liberal school; he did not concede; he stated conscientiously what his own investigations led him to regard as truth. One of his earliest writings was his little work on the "Legislation of Moses in the land of Moab," in which he strongly argued for the late date of Deuteronomy, a position which he continued to maintain. A few sentences culled here and there from his theology will illustrate his position better than any attempt to describe it. Of the theocracy or constitution of Israel he says: "The Mosaic theocracy was in no way a hierarchical, priestly state; the government in the name of God in no way lay in the hands of the holy priesthood" (p. 95). Notwithstanding this the Levitical law in its minutest particulars as given in the Priestly Code is discussed under Mosaism. Speaking of the origin of evil and sin (p. 181 *seq.*) he remarks that two accounts of this are given in Genesis, one in the Priestly Code and the other in the Jehovistic writing (Gen. ii. *seq.*); the former is more primitive and simple, the latter is the result of religious reflection. (Where does the Priestly Code give any account of the *origin* of evil? It represents men as very wicked before the flood, but if it ever stated how they became so the passage has not been preserved.)

"Biblical theology ought not, as often happens, to make the doctrine of sin, the original state, and the fall its starting point; this is to give these things a greater importance than they have in the Old Testament. The answer to the question of the origin of evil is not the foundation but the keystone, not the root, but a fruit of the Old Testament knowledge of sin and what is connected with it. The representations in Genesis on the origin of evil are no reminiscence proceeding from the first men and passing down through following generations; rather they are the answer given by the religious consciousness of Israel when the question of the origin of evil was reflected on; they go back to revelation just because the religious consciousness of Israel owed its contents to divine revelation."

A similar idea is expressed regarding the truths enunciated by the prophets: "It follows that only such perceptions could

be communicated to the prophet as—without detriment to their own novelty—stood in organic connection with the already existing contents of his consciousness. Absolutely new knowledge could have been put into him only in a magical, *i.e.*, externally mechanical way. But no knowledge arises in this fashion" (p. 214). So of Messianic prophecy: "Messianic prophecy arises out of the soil of the Old Testament religion, and is therefore, in conformity with its psychologically mediated origin, *never wholly without specific Old Testament colouring*, seeing the prophets conceive and represent the perfection of the kingdom of God as the consummation and glorification of the existing theocracy" (p. 220). In reference to the sacrificial system Riehm remarks: "Undoubtedly both in the prophets and the Psalms the sacrificial institution is always spoken of as a thing merely of religious custom, not an arrangement due to God's command nor to a book containing his commands" (p. 244). This is supported by reference to Jer. vii. 22. With this, however, ought to be compared the language used elsewhere, *e.g.*, p. 114, where speaking of the national cultus at the central sanctuary at the hands of the priesthood as guaranteeing to men's minds the continued existence of the reciprocal relations of God and His people, the author adds: "According to its general character Mosaism requires that these reciprocal relations should be expressed not in words merely but in acts of religious service. This purpose is served by the institution of sacrifice, which was not introduced by Mosaism but found as ancient traditional religious practice, and carried out by it in conformity with its fundamental conceptions."

Further citations are unnecessary. The work is an invaluable repertory of materials on almost every Old Testament sentiment or belief. If the author is occasionally mastered by his own collections, losing himself in details and failing to hit the nail on the head, that may be forgiven him in view of the rich materials which he furnishes to enable others to form a judgment of their own. The book is stimulating almost as much for what it wants as for what it contributes. Its chief fault is perhaps that it is too theological, in the sense of the exact and technical theology of this age. Glaring examples

of this are furnished by many of the headings to sections. But there are brilliant examples of a contrary sort, as when the author signalises the fact that in the Old Testament the "righteousness" of God forms no antithesis to His mercy or grace. God may be righteous in being merciful; He is righteous in forgiving the sin of the penitent when he acknowledges it. The Old Testament certainly no less than the New is explicit in teaching that all that men have and all that they are they owe to the grace of God, but its general way of speaking is not dominated by this conception. God's dealing with men is judged according to the actual relations in which He and men are found standing to one another, without perpetual recurrence to the preliminary idea to what these relations are due. And probably the way of speaking even in the New Testament is not different (1 John i. 9; Heb. vi. 10). Language like that in Is. xlv. 21, "A righteous God and (therefore) a Saviour," rather goes athwart our traditional phraseology. No doubt the meaning of "righteousness" in the second half of Isaiah is one of the obscure things in Old Testament theology. Riehm's contribution to the question, if not final, is useful, certainly far superior to that made in Kautzsch's essay on the subject. His statement of the idea of the "Servant of the Lord" is the best perhaps that has yet been made, and it is earnestly to be hoped that in the minds of scholars at least it will dislodge the eminently artificial and unthinkable idea to which the great influence of Delitzsch has given vogue in this country.

The author, whose book enables us quite to realise the kind of man he was, one no less devout than learned, simple, amiable, and dispassionate in his view alike of men and things, was wont to open his course of lectures with this among other remarks: "If this course should serve in this way to bring the results of Old Testament investigation into connection with the other theological disciplines, yet I lay particular stress on bringing to full acknowledgment the practical religious meaning of the Old Testament. Theological science has its object not in itself. It will on its part also help the increase of the Church of Christ in the life of God" (Pref., vi.). The best way to understand the Old Testament is to regard

it as given in its various parts to Israel for those purposes (and no other) for which ordinary religious minds read it to-day. It was given to enable men to live unto God, in the circumstances in which they were and with the notions on all other subjects which they had.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages.

From the Papers of the late William Wright, LL.D., Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. Cambridge. 1890.

ALAS, that these lectures should be posthumous! The last occasion on which the writer of this notice met their author was when he visited Oxford, at the Commemoration of 1887, for the purpose of receiving the honorary degree of D.C.L., the last, probably, of the many well-merited marks of distinction which learned bodies had conferred upon him. Within a year disquieting rumours began to be heard respecting the gradual decay of his health; and to the great sorrow of all interested in Oriental studies, his death came in the spring of 1889. Among English Semitic philologists, Dr Wright was *facile princeps*. He ranked with the great Continental scholars, who often by notices in their writings testified to the appreciation with which they regarded him. He laid the foundations of his Oriental learning early in life: in his younger days he was a pupil of the celebrated Oriental philologist, Emilius Rödiger. His life was dedicated to the promotion of the studies which he had at heart; he worked steadily, unostentatiously, methodically; and he accomplished much. One of the earliest of his works—"The Book of Jonah in four Oriental Languages" (1856)—still retains its value; the glossaries appended to it are the best introduction to the subject treated more comprehensively in the present volume, which can be placed in the hands of a beginner. His Arabic grammar, his editions of Arabic and Syriac texts, his catalogues of the Syriac and Ethiopic MSS. in the British Museum, and his elaborate article on Syriac literature in the ninth

edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," testify at once to his industry, and to his mastery of the studies to which he was devoted. At Cambridge he founded a school of Semitic philology, of which that University may justly be proud. Nor were his labours confined to his published writings. Bishop Lightfoot in his "Clemens" and his "Ignatius," and foreign scholars repeatedly, bear witness to the generosity with which his services were always at the disposal of those who invoked their aid. He was moreover an assiduous member of the Company appointed for the Revision of the Authorised Version of the Old Testament, and gave his time and pains most liberally to the work: it is—or ought to be—no secret, that for many of its most decided and important improvements the Revised Version is largely indebted to his powerful support. His methods were strictly scientific: his judgment as a scholar was sober, sound, and well balanced; pretentiousness and unreality were hateful to him: he was no defender of ancient, but baseless, prejudices, but neither would he countenance rash innovations, or lend the weight of his authority to theories destitute of an adequate foundation.

The lectures reflect the man. He saw clearly; he spoke forcibly and directly; when he did not know a thing, he said so frankly (*e.g.*, pp. 182, 183). The following is an outline of the contents of the volume. After an introductory chapter on the probable cradle of the Semitic race, a survey of the languages constituting the Semitic family, and a sketch of the history of the Semitic alphabet, Prof. Wright proceeds to the immediate subject of his lectures, viz., the detailed and systematic comparison of the principal members of the Semitic group. Arabic, Ethiopic, Hebrew, and the leading Aramaic dialects (including Mandaic, and the so-called Modern Syriac), are regularly compared; Assyrian, Moabitish, Phœnician, modern Arabic, &c., are referred to when occasion arises. Chapter iv. is devoted to the letters of the Semitic alphabet, and the changes which they undergo in the various languages as compared with one another; chapter v. deals similarly with the vowels and their permutations. The subject of chapter vi. is the pronoun (both suffixes and separate forms); that of chapter vii. is the noun (case-endings, feminine and plural ter-

minations, &c.). The eighth is a long chapter dealing with the verb; first, the formation of the several tenses is explained, then that of the derived conjugations, arranged successively by groups. Chapter ix. is devoted to a consideration of the special forms arising in connection with the irregular verbs. The only important department of the subject which the lectures do not embrace is the forms of nouns; but these do not appear to have been included by the author in his course. The lectures are published precisely as they stand in Dr Wright's MS., with only such occasional slight modification of form as was necessary to adapt them for publication, and the addition of a few corrections or explanatory remarks, enclosed in brackets. These latter are sometimes valuable, especially those which call attention to *loan-words* in Arabic, and refer to Fränkel's important treatise on this subject. The entire volume has had the advantage of having been read in proof by Prof. Nöldeke, of Strassburg; so that it may be said to come before scholars with the combined authority of the author himself, of his successor in the same chair at Cambridge, and of the most eminent and soundest of living Semitic philologists.

The lectures from beginning to end are simply admirable. To the student of the Semitic languages they will form an indispensable hand-book. Not only is there no work covering the same ground in English; there is none in any foreign language. Valuable contributions to the subject are, indeed, to be found in the writings of Nöldeke (especially his "*Mandäische Grammatik*"), and other foreign philologists; but there is no work in which the materials are collected upon the same comprehensive and systematic plan, or handled with the same rare faculty of lucid exposition. The last named quality is, indeed, peculiarly characteristic of the author. Whatever be the subject under treatment, in Dr Wright's hands it becomes perfectly luminous and intelligible. The phonetic changes which a letter gradually underwent, the successive stages in the derivation of a form, the mutual relations subsisting between corresponding forms in the different dialects,—all are traced with admirable distinctness, and exemplified with just that amount of illustration which is

welcome to a reader. It is shown, for example, how, perhaps, the original form is preserved in Arabic or Ethiopic, how the Aramaic dialects exhibit it in another phase of its growth, how the Hebrew stage may be illustrated from the modern spoken Arabic. In spite of the number of languages compared, the reader is never bewildered or confused; every item is ranged in the position which logically belongs to it.

As might be expected, Dr Wright sets a firm face against the illusions which still prevail in some quarters respecting the Semitic languages. Thus (p. 16), after commenting on the "absurd designation of *Chaldee*," applied often to the Western Aramaic, he states, tersely and forcibly, the facts of the case: "Now, do not for a moment suppose that the Jews lost the use of Hebrew in the Babylonian captivity, and brought back with them into Palestine this so-called Chaldee. The Aramean dialect, which gradually got the upper hand since the fourth or fifth century B.C., did not come that long journey across the Syrian desert; it was *there*, on the spot; and it ended by taking possession of the field, side by side with the kindred dialect of the Samaritans, as exemplified in their Targum of the Pentateuch, their festal services and hymns." And (p. 32), with reference to attempts that have been made to establish a connection between the Semitic and Aryan families of speech, he writes, in a spirit at once scientific and open-minded: "When Semitic philology has advanced so far as to have discovered the laws by which the original biliterals (assuming their separate existence) were converted into trilaterals; when we are able to account for the position, and to explain the function of each variable constituent of the trilateral roots, then, and not till then, may we venture to think of comparing the primitive Indo-European and Semitic vocabularies. . . . What has been written on this subject by Fürst, and the elder Delitzsch in his '*Jesurun*' (1838), is absolutely worthless, as are also the lucubrations of Von Raumer and Raabe. The best that has been said about it you will find in the younger Delitzsch's '*Studien über Indogermanisch - Semitische Wurzelverwandschaft*' (1873), and in McCurdy's '*Aryo-Semitic Speech*' (1881)."

But enough will have been said in illustration of the charac-

ter of these Lectures ; and it only remains to commend them cordially to all who may be interested in the subject with which they deal.

S. R. DRIVER.

Memorials of Edwin Hatch, D.D.

London : Hodder & Stoughton. 1890.

THIS is a volume of sermons by the late lamented Dr Hatch of Oxford, with a few of the biographical notices which appeared after his death prefixed. It is a matter of satisfaction to know that a Life on a larger scale is in course of preparation by Mrs Hatch.

All who have read the learned writings of Dr Hatch will desire to know what he was as a preacher. From this volume they will learn that he was not merely a scholar, but a devout, good man ; a poet, a friend of the people, an earnest well-wisher to every good cause, a broad-minded catholic Christian in the true sense of the word. A man possessing these characteristics could not fail to be impressive, whether his audience were Oxford scholars or country parishioners. The greater number of these sermons were preached on academic occasions at St Mary's, Oxford, or before the University of Oxford. But even in these the preacher is more than the scholar : simple in style, earnest in purpose, and proclaiming truths of universal concern, though specially bearing on the needs and duties of the particular audience. They are sermons that might be listened to with respect and profit by men of all schools and parties, for they are the utterances of a man who could not be described by any party label, because he lived for the whole, and because he was able to recognise the legitimacy and value of tendencies he did not share, and of sections with which he had little in common. In the very variety of religious type and ecclesiastical organisation he saw evidence of the divinity of Christianity. "If Christianity had been an artificially-devised religion, there would have been, in all probability, a single Life of the Founder, and a single exposition of His teaching : instead of that, there are four different lives, written apparently for dif-

ferent classes of minds, and from different points of view. If the Church had been an artificially-devised institution, there would probably have been a single definite code of rules, and a single prescribed form of government; instead of that, there are no authoritative rules, and there is an almost absolute elasticity of form. In the one case the diversity of record, in the other the variability of form, and in both cases the contradiction of human analogies, are indications of a deeper than human unity" (p. 172).

The main currents of Dr Hatch's studies are clearly revealed in the University sermons. He loses no opportunity of pressing on his hearers the importance of the study of church history in a scientific spirit, with a view to a true knowledge of the nature of Christianity, and of the study of the Greek in which the New Testament was written, as a necessary condition to the ascertainment of its meaning. Not less clearly is the intensely earnest religious spirit of the man revealed. He tells his academic audience that "they cannot be half-hearted in religion. A half-hearted religion is but a ragged surplice huddled round the skeleton of unbelief." Dr Hatch never forgot that Christianity is the religion of the people. He calls it in one sermon the "Gospel of the poor." He declared that to make it a merely intellectual religion was to doom it to failure. In the sermon which he preached in 1886 before the University of Edinburgh he compared Christianity robbed of its heart to the *aurora borealis*, beautiful to see, but leaving you as you gaze at it "on the lone moorland" to shiver and die with cold.

In all these sermons Dr Hatch gives greatest prominence to the simple fundamental truths of the faith. That God is the *God of Hope* was the truth he proclaimed in the tender, pathetic sermon preached at Birchanger after the death of his brother, the rector of the parish; a remarkable man, whose loss Dr Hatch laments in an exquisite poem, to be found in the recently published collection of his poems, entitled "Towards Fields of Light." That God is Love, he, in another sermon preached at St Margaret's, Westminster, pronounced "the truth of Truths." Charity and truth he calls, in a University sermon on humility, "the twin angels of the

Church of God." He believed that "wherever good works God works," thus extending the sphere of the Holy Spirit's influence far beyond the bounds of nominal Christendom.

These sermons are cordially commended for perusal to all who desire the growth of the Christian spirit, the revival of the ancient faith adapted to modern conditions, the advancement of the Divine Kingdom, and the well-being of mankind. In them the author appears as he appeared to all who had the privilege of his acquaintance: magnanimous, modest, manly, simple, sincere, as great morally as he was intellectually; a living witness for the heroic in religious life in an age when, as he himself declared, "there is no feature more marked on the face of contemporary religion than its pettiness."

A. B. BRUCE.

Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament.

Bearbeitet von D. H. J. Holtzmann, R. A. Lipsius, P. W. Schmiedel, und H. v. Soden. Vierter Band, Erste Abtheilung. Johannisches Evangelium bearbeitet von Holtzmann. Freiburg i. B., J. C. B. Mohr. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1890.

THE *Hand-Commentar* proceeds apace, and will form an important addition to our Exegetical apparatus. The learning, the compressed results of extended research, the absence of apparent animus against those who do not occupy the standpoint of the writers, are worthy of thanks and praise. It was to be expected that Holtzmann himself, the able editor of the *Histor. Einleitung in das N. T.*, 1885, should have undertaken the task of grappling with the Johannine Gospel. Professor Holtzmann argues, as many others do, that this priceless document is a theological treatise of the middle of the second century thrown into the form of a biographical fiction, and that it possesses a certain historical value, inasmuch as it reveals the high water mark of Christian ideas and dogmas, concerning the essence of God and destiny of man, at the period of its composition. Suppose we were to concede thus much, a fresh crop of enquiries would immediately arise. How shall we account for the rapid reception

of the "Spiritual Gospel," not only in Ephesus, where tradition appears to have placed its origin, but in Alexandria, Antioch, and Lyons? Extraordinary preparation for it must have been made during a generation, seeing that the eastern and western Churches appear simultaneously to have accepted it as the last Apostolic legacy of "one that knew." Of course such a conclusion as this of Holtzmann, Hilgenfeld, or Thoma would deprive the gospel of any authority transcending that of the early creeds, and would rob Christendom of one of its most invaluable treasures, but the Church would still possess the teaching of the four great Epistles of St Paul and the liturgies of the Apocalypse; nor would it be bereaved of undoubting faith in the Divinity of the Lord, and in the reality of a Supernatural Revelation of the nature and will of God. But on the other hand, if the Gospel of John be really what it professes to be, the record of words actually heard, the impression positively made upon a susceptible soul by One who claimed to be the Son of God, and to have lain in the bosom of the Father before all worlds, *then* we have in our very hands a supernatural phenomenon of transcendent importance. This supreme issue continues to make the Fourth Gospel a battlefield where the believers and disbelievers in God's awful and blessed nearness to us meet face to face.

We wish that Professor Holtzmann in his masterly *résumé* of *some* of the evidence *pro* and *contra*, had not left so much unsaid, and not so often referred his readers to reperuse the gist of his proofs in his *Einleitung* or other works. He has left no room to discuss the *external* evidence of the existence of the Gospel before the middle of the second century. He quietly puts aside the whole of it and even disdains to argue in this volume whether, *e.g.*, *Justin* quoted it or not, or whether *Basileides* made use of the prologue or not. He does not occupy his reader with any speculation as to the identification of the author with the author of the Apocalypse, or the comparison of the character of the Synoptical John, the John of the Epistle to the Galatians, or the John of the second and third Epistles, with the traits of personal character by which the writer depicts himself in the Fourth Gospel. Questions

of style and diction are passed over also without remark, and he commences his research into the "Johannean problem" by sketching the relation which the Fourth Gospel sustains to the Synoptics. Professor Holtzmann takes no notice of efforts to minimize or explain the divergences as to the time and place of our Lord's active ministry, so successfully presented by a host of critics, German, English, and French. He simply enumerates the well-known apparent discrepancies, withholding the fact that the passages bristle with evidence that the writer was aware of the extent of the Synoptic tradition, and was deliberately supplementing it.

Great emphasis is laid upon the doctrinal and theological *form* of the Gospel. The fundamental teachings of the Lord are enumerated with a view to accentuate this peculiarity. We are not disposed to deny the theological import of the Gospel as a whole. It must have had this character, if the writer's intuition of the mystery of the Saviour's Person had forced upon his mind the conviction that Jesus was "the Word made flesh." But it would be easy to enumerate from St Matthew or St Luke an equally long, luminous, and progressive series of theological data based on the synoptic discourses of Jesus. Holtzmann suggests that the writer puts into the supposed words of Jesus a series of warnings, suggestions, or pseudo-prophecies of events which happened in the Hebrew and Gentile Churches at the close of the first century, and arranged them theologically. The section on the Logos Doctrine is mainly occupied with an argument for the Universalism of the writer, which he regards as incompatible with Apostolic sentiment. In his section 6 he takes for proved that the Synoptic Gospels likewise are not Apostolic, and therefore, if the fourth Gospel were the work of an eye-witness, or of one of the twelve Apostles, that circumstance triumphantly disposes of it, by saying it would be the only gospel that had this peculiarity. In a rapid manner he sketches the course of controversial writing on the problem from Bretschneider to Schenkel, Oscar Holtzmann, and C. Weizsäcker.

In endeavouring to discover on internal grounds the time when the Gospel, as he conceives of it, must have been written, he appears to think that there must and would have

been traces of the doctrinal teaching of "John," in the Apostolic Fathers, the *Didache*, and the like, if theological ideas, so strongly marked as those in the fourth Gospel, had been in existence before the date of these documents. But the reply is obvious from other parts of Holtzmann's own discussions, that discoveries of the immeasurable grandeur of the person of Christ, of His pre-existence, of the light of the knowledge of God's glory in His face, had been certainly made and were widely diffused by the indubitable Epistles of Paul, that the sub-apostolic writers are not destitute of these traces, and also that the Synoptists themselves contain unquestionable specimens of our Lord's teaching and phraseology, which to careless eyes seem to be the peculiarity of the fourth Gospel only. He quietly ignores the controversy as to the dependence of Justin's doctrine of the Logos upon the teaching of the Prologue, and suggests that the latter takes its place somewhere in the long line of speculation that began with Philo, and reached its climax in Origen.

He supposes that the site and atmosphere of the fourth Gospel were to be found in Ephesus or its neighbourhood, in the home of mysticism and Montanism, in the rank soil of Gnosticism, and also, as he mischievously adds, where the *Alogi* made their appearance to protest against the canonisation of this latest fiction of a great Unknown. The Palesinian traces, the autoptic touches which have prejudiced so many generations in its favour, are due to foreign travel, and possibly to intercourse with some who were the heirs of a veritable and precious tradition. Holtzmann further opines that the author reveals acquaintance with the condition of the Church after the date and the suppression of the revolt under Barcochba! This is supposed to be indicated in the "prophecy" of Caiaphas, ch. xi. 48 ff. Surely the tragedy of A.D. 70 is more than enough to justify this hypothetical provision of the High Priest if it had been recorded in year 80.

Our author ingeniously adduces evidence that the fourth Gospel is impregnated with the *natur-philosophie* of the Greek schools, with Platonic metaphysic, with Hellenic identification of the "veritable" and "the heavenly," and with the Alexandrian antitheses of true and false, light and darkness.

He also contrasts the Pauline and Johannine references to "the Jews."

Holtzmann does not deny that the author of the Gospel assumes that the beloved disciple was the son of Zebedee, but suggests that we owe to the Ephesian elders the identification of the beloved disciple with the author of the foregoing treatise. Their lack of criticism or good faith—not to call it by a more outspoken name—is justified or explained by the gratuitous supposition that the author was the head of the community to which his admirers belonged.

The numerous and to us insurmountable difficulties excited by this way of estimating "the appendix" are not discussed.

The author of this introduction takes no side with the earlier or later forms of the Tübingen criticism, but lays down dogmatically conditions of time entirely incompatible with the Apostolical origin of the Gospel. He makes the suggestion that it corresponds with the expansion and continuation of *Old Testament History* in the Jewish Haggada! He supposes that it was as a theological romance wrought out along the lines of synoptic tradition, and may possibly contain here and there a precious jewel of fact. He grants that the very conception of "salvation" was shaped in the heart of the Christian Church by this document, and that the *Logos-Christus* provided a higher, nobler view, both of the world and of man, and a starting place for Christian doctrine. He admits that it is of high importance that the author of these ideas of redemption and of the love of God should have set them forth in a form adapted to Greek mind and Gentile Christendom.

In a brief review it would be unjust to attempt an appreciation of the merits of the exegesis which follows. The personal claims of Jesus to be the life and light of the world, to be one with the Father, to have had a glory with God before the world was, are not explained away, but shown to be part and parcel of the imaginary and ideal treatment of the imaginary self-revelation of the incarnate Word. The points where the harmonists find perplexities give him no anxiety. The splendour of the miracles is part of the purely ideal attitude which the evangelist observes when he handles the mysteries of life and death. He is utterly unlike Renan,

Strauss, Schleiermacher, or Thoma, in his estimate of the record. One peculiarity is noticeable, he is always on the look out for some second century *nuance*, to sustain the pre-supposition of authorship which he has adopted at the outset. The *Hand-Commentar* cannot be consulted without advantage by those who wish to know what upon this hypothesis the stupendous allegorist meant to convey as his conception of what an imaginary Jesus might have said or done. Criticism is chiefly confined to the *art* with which this great feat was definitely achieved. This transformation and this principle of exegesis may approve themselves to some minds, but such an effort presents the eyeless sockets of death where for all these centuries the soul of eternity has flashed with unquenchable brightness.

H. R. REYNOLDS.

Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament.

Bearb. v. Prof. Dr H. J. Holtzmann, Geh. Kirchenr, Prof. Dr R. A. Lipsius, Lic. P. W. Schmiedel, Pred. Lic. H. v. Soden. 3 Bde., 2. Abth.: Hebräerbrief, Briefe d. Petrus, Jakobus, Judas. Bearb. von. H. v. Soden. Freiburg i. B., J. C. B. Mohr. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1890.

THE second part of the third volume of the *Hand-Commentar*, published by Mohr of Freiburg, i. B., contains the Epistle to the Hebrews, 1 and 2 Peter, James and Jude. This part of the work has been executed by Von Soden of Berlin. In form it is in keeping with the previously issued parts of this important enterprise; that is to say, in the quality of the paper, the size of the page, the accuracy and beauty of the typography, the business-like aspect of the whole, it is all that can be desired. Our own publishers may be presumed to know their own business, but it is to be hoped they will not be above borrowing hints from Continental publications.

The plan of the work requires that the commentary be the briefest possible. This part, dealing with five epistles, is comprised in less than two hundred pages. It may be questioned whether this plan is wise. The commentary

is intended for scholars. The work that has been put upon it is of the highest order. The contributors are men second to none in critical attainments, of first-rate scholarship, and of original power. But their plan restricts them in general to a mere expression of opinion, and precludes the possibility of any full discussion. Even on these terms the commentary is valuable and important. The opinion of such scholars as Holtzmann and Lipsius is always worth knowing, even when it is but briefly substantiated. But in reading the commentary one is continually accompanied by the wish that it were somewhat fuller. At the same time the amount of knowledge and thought compressed into this *Hand-Commentar* is worthy of the most ample and cordial acknowledgment. To save space V. Soden gives all his lexical explanations in brackets in the translation, so that his remarks upon the subject-matter are not interrupted.

Into his brief introductions to the Epistles, V. Soden has contrived neatly to pack an immense amount of conscientious and intelligent reading and research. He is indeed entirely ignorant of English literature. Perhaps he may have considered that his time would have been wasted in consulting Rendall or Edwards or Bruce or Davidson or Westcott, but had he consulted these writers he would have been saved from one or two somewhat surprising mistakes. The paragraphs in which an attempt is made to determine the place of the several epistles in New Testament literature are full of useful, and sometimes new material. In his treatment of the Epistle to the Hebrews there is considerable freshness. He has indeed no new name to suggest as its author. Luke, Silas, Barnabas, Clement of Rome, he summarily dismisses. Luke, perhaps, deserved more serious consideration than he receives. Against Apollos he has nothing to urge, but he does not think the advocates of that name have anything decisive to urge in its favour. His one positive conclusion is that the writer himself belonged to the Church addressed. This Church he cannot find in Jerusalem, nor even in Palestine, but in Italy. Possibly the epistle was a circular letter to the Italian Churches. In any case, the Church addressed was not composed of Jews, nor even of a mixture of Jews and Gentiles,

but exclusively of Gentiles. This he believes to be put beyond a doubt by the terms in which the exhortation of the epistle is couched. That its exhortations are addressed to persons in danger of falling away from the Christian faith goes without saying. This apostasy must have meant a return either to heathenism or to Judaism—Jewish Christianity being out of the question. Soden urges that a relapse into Judaism could scarcely have been termed an “apostasy from the living God,” the living God being the God of the Old Testament. Neither could it aptly have been designated “disobedience,” “unbelief,” “to sin willingly,” “to be hardened by the deceitfulness of sin.” To compare a relapse into Judaism with the conduct of Esau, or with the lapse into idolatry in the wilderness, were pointless, while it were equally pointless to speak to persons inclining towards Judaism of laying again the foundations of repentance and faith, foundations as necessary to Judaism as to Christianity. That these passages adduced by V. Soden require explanation no one will deny, but that they carry his conclusion will scarcely be admitted by those who fairly weigh the drift of the epistle and its individual arguments. What, *e.g.*, would be the relevancy of comparing Christ with the angels and with Moses in addressing a Gentile Church?

V. Soden relegates 2 Peter to the second quarter of the second century, as was to be expected. But it is a pity that he should have felt himself called upon to be original in dealing with 1 Peter. In this epistle he finds an author of independent character, of a thoroughly practical disposition, possessed of a good Greek style and some literary culture. In short, he can find in the epistle nothing of Peter but the name. He thinks it not impossible that Silvanus, some twenty-five years after Peter's death, should have used the apostle's name, himself being an apostle (1 Thess. ii. 6) and a prophet (Acts xv. 22). The words of the Epistle itself, he thinks, suggest this. For “by Silvanus” (v. 12) must mean more than that Silvanus was his amanuensis. This authorship would explain the Pauline influence apparent in the epistle, and especially the reminiscences of the Epistle to the Romans. But why Silvanus, if he thought it necessary to

use the name of some better known man than himself, did not use the name of Paul with whom he had been more intimately connected, V. Soden does not explain. Is it credible that churches urgently in need of apostolic counsel should accept a letter claiming to be from Peter twenty-five years after Peter was dead? If V. Soden credited the Bithynians and the rest with but one hundredth part of his own ingenuity, he could not ascribe to them such credulity.

His strongest reason for denying the Petrine authorship is that allusions to persecution are found in the epistle. For these persecutions he can find no place until the reign of Domitian. On the other hand these allusions when closely examined are recognised as merely referring to private and incidental persecution, not to persecutions authorised by the State and on a large scale. Even were it not so, the claim of the epistle itself to be from Peter cannot so easily be disposed of as V. Soden seems to think.

In regard to the commentary itself, it must suffice to say that the manner of it could scarcely be improved. Not a word is wasted; and often even in one word the maximum of significance is stored. Sometimes the interpretation is open to question; but, on the whole, the work is admirably done, and for getting swiftly to the meaning of these epistles and to their comprehension as wholes there is probably no such good guide in existence.

MARCUS DODS.

The Life and Letters of the Rev. Adam Sedgwick.

By J. W. Clark and Professor Hughes. 2 vols. Cambridge University Press. 1890.

ONE inevitable result of the increasing severity of the competitive struggle for life at the present day is, that fame is fleeting, and that many of those who occupied a high place in popular esteem in the past generation are now well-nigh forgotten. The subject of this memoir is a case in point; for, although it is not more than seventeen years since his death, yet he was a man who had outlived his generation; and many of the public events with which he was connected had even

then either become simple matters of history, or had been buried in the oblivion of the past.

This interesting Biography has, on this account, lost some of its attractiveness for the present-day public; for Sedgwick was one of those who owed his great popularity rather to the extraordinary force of his personal character, than to the extent, or the nature of the work which he accomplished. We cannot but think also, that it would have been an improvement had a more trenchant pruning knife been exercised, in preparing his correspondence for publication. But for these faults the author is not, we believe, responsible; and, taken as it is, we are deeply indebted to Mr Clark for having given to us an admirable work, whose literary merit is of a high order, and which, like the other works by the same author, bears the marks of laborious and accurate research. The typography and illustrations are excellent, and the execution of the work is, in the highest degree, creditable to the University Press.

The position occupied by Sedgwick was in some respects unique. He was a pioneer in science, yet a devout and conscientious clergyman, at a time when teachers of Science and of Theology were too often in conflict: a simple-minded man, who enjoyed nothing more than a romp with children, while at the same time he was a successful courtier and an honoured friend of the Queen and Prince Albert.

In his character were combined many contradictory traits. He was patient in his geological investigations, yet fierce and unreasonable in controversy; broad in his sympathies but narrow in his religious opinions; liberal and large-hearted in his sentiments, yet so conservative in his beliefs in matters of scientific reasoning, that he is usually to be found strongly opposing any novel results of deductive inquiry—witness his attitude towards the views of Agassiz and his followers as to glacial action. He was a man of athletic frame, yet a valetudinarian; a University Professor who never failed to do far more than the specified duties of his office; and a Canon of Norwich who was equally conscientious in the discharge of his Cathedral functions.

Into the details of his life this is not the place to enter.

Mr Clark has, with a faithful and affectionate hand, traced the different phases of his career so graphically, that those who knew little of the man or of his environments can follow them with interest, and can easily picture the scenes in which he moved. We see him in his simple Yorkshire home, in his college rooms during his student career, in his early work as a college tutor; then suddenly appointed to an office for which he had not been specially fitted by previous study, but into whose duties he threw himself with such vigour, that, within a year, he had brought himself abreast of the science of his day, speedily becoming a pioneer in new fields of research.

His devotional spirit of attachment to the Scriptures moulded his opinions on those questions regarding creation which are raised by the study of geology. In his reply to Dean Cockburn's onslaught on the geologists at the British Association Meeting of 1844, Sedgwick expressed his belief that the creative days were extended periods. He regarded the first two verses of the first chapter of Genesis "as an exordium declaring God the Creator of all material things out of nothing, at a period so immeasurably removed from man as to be utterly out of the reach of his conception. After the first verse there is a pause of vast and unknown length, and here I would place the period of the old geological formations, not revealed because out of the scope of revelation. The work of actual present creation then begins. The Spirit of God broods over the dead matter of the world, and in six figurative days brings it into perfect fashion, and fills it with living beings." "I once thought," he writes to a friend, "that we had good physical proof of a general deluge that must have happened a few thousand years since. I afterwards doubted the evidence, though I still believe that a vast physical change has taken place in the surface of the northern hemisphere within a few thousand years. Another opinion I formerly held was this—viz., that the modern period was more distinctly separable from the anterior period than it proves to be on further investigation." "It is something to prove against some sturdy infidels (who would scoff at the Bible if it were spoken of) that the world is not eternal.

Therefore it was created by a power external to itself, acting with prescient wisdom, and ordaining all laws by which the order of nature is maintained. The same creative power has not been quiescent, but has been employed again and again in replenishing and renovating the earth. Land and sea have changed place; the tops of our highest hills have been under water, therefore the fact of a historic deluge is not impossible or improbable. Though the world is very old, man is but a creature of yesterday."

With these views on cosmogony it was only natural that Sedgwick's spirit should have been stirred within him by the publication of the "*Vestiges of Creation*." "I do, from my soul, abhor the sentiments; and I believe I could have crushed the book by proving it base, vulgar in spirit, false, shallow, worthless, and with the garb of philosophy starting from principles which are at variance with all sober, inductive truth. The sober facts of geology shuffled so as to play a rogue's game; phrenology (that sink-hole of human folly and prating coxcombry); spontaneous generation; transmutation of species; and I know not what; all to be swallowed, without tasting or trying, like so much horse physic!! Gross credulity and rank infidelity joined in unlawful marriage, and breeding a deformed progeny of unnatural conclusions. When I read some pages of the foul book it brought Swift's satire to my mind and filled me with such inexpressible disgust that I threw it down and cried out to myself 'Give me an ounce of civet, good apothecary, to sweeten my imagination.'"

With equal virulence he wrote an article on the "*Vestiges*" for the *Edinburgh Review*; but it was expressed in language too passionate and unreasonable to be judicial, and his criticisms rather overshot their mark. Although his informal letters are sparkling and racy, his literary style was usually cumbrous and dull; and in this review his feelings seem to have hampered his judgment and expression: it is one of the least pleasing of all his writings, contrasting very unfavourably with the calmer, yet more vigorous and critical work on the same subject by Hugh Miller, "*The Footprints of the Creator*." In Sedgwick's mind there was no quarter to be given to such speculations; they were at all times and

in all forms intolerable ; while, to the mind of the Scottish geologist it was the inadequacy and empiricism of the theory that was to be condemned, not the theorizing itself, which in this field he considered perfectly legitimate. "The same faculty which finds employment in tracing to their causes the rise of nations, and which it is the merit of the philosophic historian judiciously to exercise, will to a certainty seek employment in this department of history also." "The 'Vestiges' bears the same sort of relation, in this special field, to sober enquiry founded upon the true condition of things that the legend of the old chroniclers bore to authentic history." "There are limits to the field of palæontological discovery in its relation to what may be termed the chronology of organized existence, and then, I doubt not, geological history, in legitimate conformity to the laws of mind, will assume a very extraordinary form."

When this remarkable prediction of Hugh Miller's was fulfilled ten years later, in a way unexpected, by the publication of the "Origin of Species" in 1859, the same feelings with which Sedgwick had attacked the "Vestiges" were reawakened in his mind. He wrote to Darwin, "I have read your book with more pain than pleasure. Parts of it I admired greatly, parts I laughed at till my sides were almost sore, other parts I read with absolute sorrow, because I think them utterly false and grievously mischievous. 'Tis the crown and glory of organic science that it does, through final cause, link material to moral. You have ignored this link ; and, if I do not mistake your meaning, you have done your best to break it. Were it possible (which, thank God, it is not) to break it, humanity would suffer a damage that might brutalize it, and sink the human race into a lower grade of degradation than any into which it has fallen."

The record of Sedgwick's geological work, which is given in an interesting chapter by Professor Hughes, is in many respects a strong contrast to these polemical writings. It illustrates strikingly his capability of patient research and his power of reasoning on physical data when unbiassed by preconceived opinions. On those points wherein Sedgwick differed from his brother geologists, such as the relations of

the Cambrian and Silurian systems, the most recent researches have confirmed the views which he adopted, and indicated the accuracy of his observations.

The graphic delineations which Mr. Clark gives us of the social life of an English University town, in the early days of the century, are interesting, as they refer to conditions which are now practically extinct. The abolition of permanent idle fellowships, of religious tests, and of the obligation to celibacy, has been a potent factor in destroying the shreds of the original monasticism which had survived in the universities, and has given a greater and wider human interest to all connected with them, a greater purity, a deeper and more real religious life, a greater stimulus to learning, and has brought the university more directly into touch with national life in a way that was not dreamt of by the college dons of past ages. The old exclusiveness of the former state of things, in accordance with which the heads of houses and professors associated only with their fellow-heads and professors, and which decreed that the few ladies in university society were to be taken in to dinner in strict order of the university rank of their husbands, all this has practically disappeared, and has given place to a much freer association of all classes in the university, both graduate and undergraduate, which is mutually beneficial.

In the compilation of Sedgwick's life Mr Clark has shown himself as well qualified to be the historian of Cambridge social life, as he has, by his monumental work, proved his fitness to deal with the inanimate externals of the university.

ALEXANDER MACALISTER.

Evangelical Theology.

A Course of Popular Lectures. By A. A. Hodge, D.D., Professor of Theology, Princeton. T. Nelson & Sons. 1890.

THIS is simply a reprint of the American edition of the late Dr Hodge's Lectures, with a preface by Rev. C. A. Salmond, who, in his "Princetoniana," has so well drawn the portrait of the two Hodges, and having in his own studies

derived so much benefit from them, is eminently entitled to commend the present volume to the public. It is not easy to condense into a few lines a critical notice of this book. Many questions might present themselves for criticism in connection with the plan of the work, the selection of topics, the style of treatment, and the views presented on particular points. On such questions we give weight to the individuality of Dr Hodge, who, having been endowed, like the Apostle Paul, with a mind at once theological, practical, and spiritual, was far better qualified than any casual critic to determine the plan and method of a course of popular lectures on Evangelical Theology. The scope of the lectures is very comprehensive, embracing, besides the more ordinary topics of divinity, such questions as prayer, evolution, perfectionism, high churchism, relation of the State to religion, &c., &c. One or two subjects, however, we are surprised to find either omitted or but briefly sketched. It would have been highly desirable in our judgment to have a chapter on Agnosticism—undoubtedly one of the most prevalent and pernicious refuges of the unbelieving mind at the present day. Then, we do wonder that the whole subject of sin, the fall of man, and the atonement, is not more fully and prominently discussed. There is no more fertile source of false theology at the present day than slight views of sin and guilt, and Dr Hodge was well fitted to do justice to that great subject. On the question of atonement, too, while he has laid down with characteristic firmness and precision the Scripture doctrine, it was surely desirable that he should expressly distinguish this from those vaguer views of atonement which have often been presented in lieu of the doctrine of substitution and satisfaction.

One great characteristic of Dr Hodge as a theologian is, uncompromising fidelity to the divine revelation, combined with a greater manifestation of kindness and "sweet reasonableness" than has usually been found in very firm Calvinistic theologians. And Dr Hodge has had the good fortune, while giving emphasis to the kindly aspect of God's dealings with the whole human race, to escape the reproach of treachery,—of surrendering with the left hand what he had grasped with the

right. He holds Christ, while specially the priest of his own people, "to have been in an important sense also the priest of the whole historic human race. . . . He arrested in behalf of the whole human race as a body, the immediate execution of the legal penalty. . . . He, by His expiation, removed utterly out of the way of all men alike the objective hindrances in the justice of God and in the judgment of the law which rendered their salvation absolutely impossible. In this general sense, Christ, as the Man whom God has appointed Priest, is the common bond of the whole human race, and His meritorious service the common basis of human history." It is an important service Dr Hodge renders to theology when he presents this Catholic view of redemption side by side with predestination and kindred doctrines; and yet one despairs of justice ever being done by opponents to Calvinism in this particular, when we find so superior a writer as Dean Chadwick, in his excellent volume on Exodus in the "Expositor's Bible," speaking of the "palsying grasp of the tyrannous deity of Calvin."

Dr Hodge has much to say that is seasonable and important both on the prophetic and the kingly office of Christ. The full benefit, he says, to be derived from the prophetic office depends on our "implicitly submitting our whole intellects to Him as our Teacher; that we follow him without question in our thinking as much as in our acting; that His doctrine in every department of truth be central and regulative to all other truth. On this condition only will He grant us that unction from the Holy One by which we shall know all things." On the kingly office we simply call attention to his remarks on perfectionism, and on the duty of the State to have a religion,—a duty which is quite separate from what is often held to be identical, to endow some section of the church with worldly gifts.

It may seem to some unscientific, but for our part we do admire Dr Hodge's method of occasionally breaking away from the region of intellectual inquiry into that of practical life and holy experience. It is an eminently Pauline method to remember that men have souls as well as intellects; it gave to Paul's theology a marvellous force and human interest;

and if it were more common in theological classes, theological lectures, and theological treatises, it would redeem theology most effectually from the reproach of dryness and barrenness from which it suffers so much, and suffers not altogether undeservedly.

When a theologian has once established a principle, he is entitled to use it, in the way of *a priori* reasoning, and to make it settle other questions to which it is applicable. But he does this *cum periculo*, because the operations of the Divine Being constitute a region in which human logic is very prone to err. We are inclined to think that Dr Hodge uses the *a priori* method, as distinguished from the expository, rather freely. The question of inspiration is wholly treated in this manner, the extreme position being assumed that every word possesses infallible accuracy. Mr Salmond bestows unqualified praise on this section, but we venture to think it is decidedly defective. The question is not to be settled by any *a priori* conception, but by a diligent examination and comparison of the statements of Scripture and the actual phenomena which it presents. The question is far from simple, and while much respect is due to those who think with Dr Hodge that every word is strictly and infallibly accurate, no less regard ought to be paid to the view of others who cannot reconcile this conception with actual discrepancies in Scripture, and who are shocked at the torturing processes employed to effect such reconciliation. We admit the difficulty of Dr Hodge trying to condense into a page a subject for which a lecture would have been all too little ; and we own the value and originality of the illustrations which seem to have captivated Mr Salmond, having for their object to show how the Holy Spirit might influence the mind of the human writer without force or restraint, and in perfect harmony with his own spontaneity.

W. G. BLAIRIE.

Lehrbuch der Praktischen Theologie.

Von Dr Alfred Krauss, ord. Professor der Theologie zu Strassburg. Erster Band. Freiburg i. Br., J. C. B. Mohr. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1890.

IN the valuable collection of theological text-books at present being issued from Freiburg, the subject of Practical Theology is treated by Professor Krauss of Strassburg, who has already given proof of his ability and acquaintance with the theme by previous works in the same field ; and we have before us the first volume of his new work, comprising the general introduction and the sections devoted to Liturgic and Homiletic. In the introduction, after a brief sketch of the history of Practical Theology, he proceeds to the subject of the Church, since it is from the fact of the existence of the Church that the need of Practical Theology arises. Here he maintains the view, which he had formerly expounded in an Essay on the Protestant doctrine of the Invisible Church, that the Church is essentially a visible body, and that the true distinction is not between the Church visible and invisible, but between the Church and the kingdom of God. Since this is here merely assumed as a postulate from Dogmatic, it would be out of place to discuss its correctness, for a discussion of which I may refer to my Cunningham Lectures on the Kingdom of God. But it is interesting to observe the consequences to which this leads Professor Krauss in his development of Practical Theology. He avoids the tendency to Catholicism, which the denial of the invisible Church often has, by denying that the Church was founded by Christ at all. He simply preached the kingdom of God ; and the outward society of his disciples is just the inevitable result of that, according to the universal laws of nature, which are the ordinance and will of God. According to this view, no Christian institutions have any divine warrant, except in the general sense in which all human society may be said to have it. This is substantially the theory of the late Dean Stanley, but it seems impossible to reconcile it with the obvious meaning of many New Testament passages. It leads Professor Krauss to dismiss somewhat contemptuously all ideas of any Scriptural warrant or direction for the constitu-

tion and work of the Church (pp. 29, 35), and to some other consequences in his further exposition. At this stage, however, he brings out extremely well the distinction between the Church as a fellowship of salvation (*Heilsgemeinschaft*), and as an institute of salvation (*Heilsanstalt*); and shows, that while it is really both, it can be the latter, on Protestant principles, only by virtue of being the former. Hence he infers, that the function of the Church is to be the means of salvation to mankind, and that this can only be fulfilled in a truly Christian way in proportion as the Church is really a fellowship of believers, and so coincides with the kingdom of God.

Practical Theology, as the theory of this function of the Church, he regards, after Schleiermacher, as falling under the two heads of Church government and Church service; but since he holds that on Protestant principles the government of the Church must ever be associated with and modified by the State, he leaves that entirely aside, and developes his whole practical theology out of the theory of Church service. Thus it really becomes simply pastoral theology, *i.e.*, the study of the duties of the ministry, a view which he says is the peculiar Roman Catholic conception of the science. If we are to adopt the theory of Zwingli, Erastus, and Stanley, that the government of the Church is in the hands of the Christian magistrate or people, then Practical Theology should include a department giving directions for this, co-ordinate with that of Church service. The effect of Krauss's principles is further seen in his subdivision of Church service, which he derives, in a purely empiric way, from the observation that the pastor's office is comprehended in liturgy, preaching, instruction of youth, and care of souls, though he endeavours to find a foundation for these divisions in the notion of the Church, making the two former the Church's functions as the fellowship, and the two latter as the institute, of salvation. This, however, fails to carry out thoroughly the Protestant principle laid down before, that the Church is an institute of salvation only so far as it is a fellowship of salvation. Also it seems wrong to say that preaching has to do only with Christians, but the instruction of youth and care of souls with those who are imperfectly or defectively such. Further, the exclusion of the theory of

missions is very inadequately grounded ; for that should surely be a part of practical theology, co-ordinate with the theory of the pastoral office, while the theory of preaching is independent and preparatory to both. Then if the pastoral office were recognised as a divine institution, the various parts of Pastoral Theology might be grounded on the duties assigned in the New Testament to Christian ministers.

In the special treatment of Liturgic, Professor Krauss starts from the notion of divine service or worship, and finds that for the realisation of it there is necessary a time of rest, or festival (*Feier*), though he thinks, in opposition to the Puritan view of Sabbath sanctification, that this should allow play as well as worship, only excluding work or such play as unfits for worship. But Puritans would cordially welcome his condemnation of will worship, as coming in whenever there is set up a different relation between work and rest from that which the divine Word teaches, and which is determined in the fourth commandment, requiring, as he expounds it, no less distinctly six days of work than one of rest (p. 49). This, which even to us seems an ultra-sabbatarian position, is hardly consistent with what he says further on of the necessity of special Christian festivals besides the Sunday. He would limit these to eight or nine in the year, and thinks only a less number indispensable ; but even this violates the proportion of one day in seven (pp. 132-4).

As regulating principles of public worship he lays down four—truth, freedom, commonness (if I may coin such a word for *Gemeinsamkeit*), and solemnity ; and he enforces these very well, although under the second he only recognises the freedom of the Church to alter her services to suit varying times and circumstances, not any similar freedom in the minister. He then proceeds to consider in detail the various elements of worship—prayer, praise, reading of Scripture, confession of faith, solemn sentence, preaching, symbol, and then the externals of worship—place, time, furniture, dress, giving on all these useful and suggestive remarks. The necessity of a fixed liturgy for the principal Church service is reached by a very slight argument ; but it is also truly maintained that no man is fit for the ministry who has not the

gift of free prayer, which should be exercised in pastoral visitation and in the less formal meetings for worship. If so, would not the principle of freedom, before insisted on, be better maintained by allowing the use of free prayer, in some part at least of every divine service?

It is impossible to go into further details; but while, as will be observed, in some respects Professor Krauss advocates a more ritual service than Presbyterians and Congregationalists generally approve, it is gratifying to find that he strenuously opposes Romanising tendencies, and maintains the Protestant principle that the Word of God read and preached is the chief thing in worship, and that the symbolical and ritual parts, even the sacraments, ought to be subordinate to that. On the various particulars that come into consideration his remarks are thoughtful and judicious; and he gives useful and interesting information about the laws and practices of various churches in regard to public worship. Besides the Lutheran and Reformed communions on the Continent, those of the Church of England are given, but no notice is taken of Presbyterian or Congregational forms of worship; though these also have a history and a literature not unworthy of consideration in a comprehensive treatment of the subject. A reference to them would have qualified the sweeping statement in the section on ordination (p. 186), "the Reformed Church ordains not to office but to order"; since the Presbyterians have always strenuously maintained, that ordination must ever be to a particular charge, which it is satisfactory to find to be also the Lutheran principle.

Homiletic occupies the second half of this volume, and the first thing that will strike many readers is, that its range is limited to the art of addressing Christians as a part of divine service. This flows from the general conception of Practical Theology as before indicated; but surely the art of speaking on Christian themes to all sorts of audiences is of great importance for the servant of Christ, and is not so different from that of preaching in a regular congregation as to require a separate branch of study. This limitation shows itself in the treatment of the matter of preaching, which largely consists of an exposition of the festivals of the

Christian year, and the subjects appropriate for each of them. While defending this arrangement, Professor Krauss protests strongly and justly against the further restriction of the preacher's liberty by the system of *pericopes*, or fixed passages prescribed as subjects of discourse for each Sunday of the year. He also gives useful hints on the subjects of sermons in general, and the importance of pastoral acquaintance with the people for their right selection. There follows an exposition of the remaining parts of rhetoric, as applicable to pulpit discourse—disposition, expression, and delivery. Under the second of these it is maintained that the rhetorical style is a distinct kind of composition, intermediate between prose and poetry. This notion seems very apt to lead to an evil which our author himself deprecates, an affected and empty solemnity; and the view of the ancients and of many moderns, that there are only two distinct forms of composition, prose and verse, each indeed admitting of many modifications, seems decidedly preferable. The discussion of common faults of style is fitted to be generally useful, though of course specially adapted to Germans; and so also is the account of tropes and figures of speech, which are perhaps somewhat needlessly sub-divided by a refinement of logical classification. Finally, as regards delivery, Professor Krauss assumes that it should be without manuscript, recommends as a general rule, in the first instance at least, complete writing and memorising; and gives some excellent advice in regard to this, and also to elocution and action.

In giving an account of the contents of this work, I have been led to dwell specially on points that arrest attention, because open to criticism; but these form really but a small part of the whole, and the treatment is everywhere marked by comprehensive and accurate knowledge, logical power, and clearness of expression, so that it is full of information, interest, and suggestiveness. There are copious references to the literature of the subject in general, and of its various parts; but, as is usual with Germans, while the Continental literature is fully reported, that in English is hardly so much as noticed, and as before observed, the Presbyterian and Congre-

gational Churches are entirely ignored. Altogether, however, the book is a really good one, and we shall look with hopeful expectation for its completion.

JAS. S. CANDLISH.

Canon Liddon. A Memoir, with his last Five Sermons.

London: The "Family Churchman" Office.

By the death of Canon Liddon, which took place at Weston-Super-Mare, on the morning of Tuesday, September 9th, the Church of England lost its great preacher. Profounder thinkers and more learned scholars remain to it, but no one among its surviving ministers possesses a like gift of persuasion. Save one, indeed, and his sphere is not in the pulpit, Liddon was the most persuasive of English-speaking men. And his persuasiveness as a speaker was derived to a large extent from the beauty and transparent sincerity of his personal character. The scene in St Paul's on the day of his funeral, which none who were present can ever forget, made it evident that he had a place in the hearts of his hearers which oratory alone could not have given him.

Henry Parry Liddon was born in the year 1829 at North Stoneham in Hampshire. His father, Captain Matthew Liddon, R.N., was an Arctic explorer, and accompanied Sir Edward Parry on his search for the North-West Passage. From Sir Edward Parry, who was his godfather, Canon Liddon derived his second name. His early days were spent in Devonshire and in Somerset; he was afterwards sent to King's College school, London. At school, according to the testimony of Mr Frederic Harrison, who was his school-fellow, he was a boy-priest, grave and gentle, with a look on his face that seemed to plead with his companions to be less rough and boisterous. In spite of his recluse ways—he never joined in the games—he was cordially liked; even schoolboys can respect elevation of character when it is without pretentiousness. In 1847 he went to Christ Church, Oxford. At the University his career was creditable, although not specially distinguished; he graduated in 1850 in the second class. While still an undergraduate he was an ardent High Church-

man, and was keenly interested in theological questions. In 1851 he was ordained by Bishop Wilberforce, who in 1854 appointed him Vice-Principal of Cuddesdon College; the interval having been spent in a curacy at Wantage. While he was there, a cultivated lady who heard him preach, made the remark: "That young man is a greater preacher than Dr Manning." At Cuddesdon he did memorable work, taking special pains to form the characters of men under his care; and we are told that not a few men, who had entered very unpromising subjects, left Cuddesdon to be useful clergymen. Jealousy of High Church teaching was at the time active and watchful within the Church of England; Cuddesdon and its teachers were vehemently assailed in the *Quarterly Review* and elsewhere for their Tractarian leanings. Bishop Wilberforce was himself a High Churchman, but of the external type; he was annoyed by the attacks on his College, and he found himself unable to keep the ardent Vice-Principal within the limits of ornamental High Churchism, for which the latter never cared. Liddon was incapable by temperament, even if he had been willing, of playing the part of Mr Facing-Both-Ways. He tendered his resignation, which the Bishop accepted, convinced, as he wrote, that the Vice-Principal was untrustworthy as a guide of young men, because of his "strength of will, ardour, restlessness, and dominant imagination."

Liddon found a more congenial ecclesiastical superior in the devout and unworldly Bishop of Salisbury, Dr Ker Hamilton, by whom he was appointed examining chaplain, and afterwards a Prebendary of the Cathedral. In 1859 he became Vice-Principal of St Edmund Hall, Oxford; in 1863 he was for the first time appointed select preacher; and in 1866 he delivered his famous Bampton Lectures. As member of the Hebdomadal Council he took an active part in University politics, always fighting by the side of those opposed to change in the constitution of the University. In 1870 he accepted the appointment to Dean Ireland's professorship of New Testament Exegesis; in the same year he was appointed Canon Residentiary of St Paul's.

Liddon was an excellent professor, and his lectures were

well attended ; but he will be remembered among English Churchmen, not as a professor, but as a preacher. Whether he preached in St Mary's or in St Paul's, the only limit to the size of his congregations was the size of the building. St Paul's presented a striking spectacle on the Sunday afternoons when Liddon was the preacher—a sea of upturned faces listening to a long discourse full of argument, and listening as if the hearers could never forgive themselves if they missed a single sentence. Liddon owed part of his mastery over audiences to physical and intellectual endowments which had been cultivated with unusual care. His swift and orderly intellect arranged and developed the subject of his discourse with such perfect though apparently artless skill that difficult questions seemed easy of solution, perhaps too easy, under the magic of his treatment. A master of phrase and of rhetoric, whatever he said was not only clear, but luminous in the light of imagination ; he managed his beautiful voice with a knowledge and skill which showed what pains he had bestowed upon the difficult art of public speaking. It was at one time the fashion to say in Oxford, in the early days of his success, that Liddon was a mere imitator of French models, who had gained popularity not by creating, but by importing a new style. He had certainly studied Bourdaloue, Massillon, and other preachers of the classical period, as well as Lacordaire and later preachers of France ; but the French traces upon his style have been much exaggerated, although they were there. Liddon was himself, modern and English, with a most intimate knowledge of contemporary English thought ; even when he left them unexpressed, one could see that he was perfectly cognisant of the unspoken doubts and difficulties of his hearers. English humour, although it never came to the surface, and English common sense saved him from the exaggerations to which popular preachers are prone, into which he would certainly have tumbled headlong had he been a mere imitator of the French. Intellectual and rhetorical endowments were, however, only the medium through which the faith and spiritual emotion of the preacher came into uninterrupted contact with his hearers. No one will doubt that Liddon's ministry was a spiritual power in the truest sense, whose memory enables him to

contrast with the crowd of reverend worshippers he brought and kept together, the scanty company of sightseers who used to gather in St Paul's in the old days, to look at monuments, to enjoy the music, and to endure, rather than to listen to a short formal sermon. But the personal affection of his hearers, as manifested on the day of his funeral, was almost a surprise even to those familiar with the reverent attention of his congregations. He never caressed his audience, nor did he seek to interest them in himself by egotistic confidences; but not even the traditional reserve of the Anglican preacher, and of the cultivated Englishman, could conceal from his hearers that the fragile speaker in the distant pulpit was animated with an undoubting and fervent faith in the Unseen, and that he longed with apostolic affection to communicate it to those who heard him. Those who could not fully share his faith, yet recognised in the High Church preacher one of that select company of whom the poet speaks, who come among men "radiant with ardour divine:"

"Souls temper'd with fire,
Fervent, heroic, and good,
Helpers and friends of mankind."

And this was not a histrionic illusion, only striking those at a distance. It was the feeling of those nearest to him. One of his colleagues, preaching on the Sunday after his death, said of him: "His life was a clear channel, down which the news of a life of grace might pass to us without derision. Can there be a better test of the spiritual sincerity of a man than this—that we feel no shock when he speaks to us in Bible language? And was it not this which was the entire secret of Liddon's power over us when he preached?"

Mr Frederic Harrison, in the kindly notice to which we have already alluded, confesses to a feeling of surprise that one with so little elasticity exercised such a wide influence in an age of transition. But even men who, in Goethe's phrase, had "thought themselves weary," found it an exhilarating change to leave for a season the exhausting atmosphere of compromise and hesitation, and to abandon themselves to a guide who had never lost sight of the great landmarks of faith and duty.

It is more difficult to explain why Liddon's sacerdotalism so seldom gave offence, although many, perhaps most, of his hearers were opposed to it. The chief reason, we think, was that while a firm believer in sacerdotal dogma, he had less of the sacerdotal spirit than most clergymen of his Church, perhaps of any Church. In a sermon on sacerdotalism, preached at Oxford, he defended his sacerdotal principles with his wonted unhesitating courage, but with not less emphasis, he condemned the sacerdotal spirit, warning young clergymen that prejudice against the Christian priesthood is less often roused by a theory or doctrine, than by a temper, a bearing, a line of conduct. "Men," he said, "will not put up with what seems trivial or petty when great claims are made upon thought and conscience. And their eyesight has been sharpened by our Divine Master's dealings with the Scribes and Pharisees; and the faults of the Scribes and Pharisees are the faults to which a clerical order—such is human weakness—is always prone." He counsels clergymen not to seek to exalt, or to give prominence to their office, unless in exceptional circumstances; to think less of their office than of their work; for the first is only a means to second the end. The absence of the sacerdotal spirit made Liddon's attitude towards Nonconformists free from all acerbity, although his rigid ecclesiastical theory forced him to exclude them from the visible fold of Christ's Church. He never sought, like some, to sharpen his polemic by dwelling on their mistakes and failures. It was a source of satisfaction to him, perhaps of some surprise, that genuine religious life and real beneficence existed outside the fellowship of the Catholic Church; and he thankfully acknowledged it to be a sign that God's Spirit was working among them. A signal example of the generosity of spirit, which forced its way through his ecclesiastical principles, was given by him on the occasion of the visit of the American Evangelists to England fifteen years ago. Clergymen of his school were for the most part hostile, or disdainful. Liddon, preaching before the University, expressed sincere respect for the men who had thrown themselves on our great cities with the ardour of Apostles, and "made many of us feel that we owe them at least the debt of an

example, which He who breatheth where He listeth must surely have inspired them to give us."

Liddon's ecclesiastical position was that of the High-Anglican. Our present object is not criticism, and it will be sufficient to say that as Roman Catholics will have none of it, and as all Protestant Churches in the world, saving the Church of England, are of the same mind, its triumph in England would mean that a local, not a universal religion, would become the religion of England. He held that the Reformation saved the cause of religion in Western Europe by dissociating Christianity from the entail of legend which had gathered around it. It led, however, to religious revolution in the lands which embraced Protestantism, with the doubtful exception of England, and broke up in the Western Church that visible unity so dear to all Christians who believe that our Lord uttered the intercessory prayer in St John, and that the Epistle to the Ephesians is the Word of God. His hope of reunion was directed towards Rome—a hope, although it be against appearances, that the largest division of the Church of Christ would abandon untenable positions, without forfeiture of her historic continuity, and thus reunite the scattered worshippers of the Redeemer in one visible fold.

Liddon's contributions to theology were mainly in the form of sermons. This secured that the interests of practical piety were never forgotten, but it had a tendency to make them inadequate in treatment and peremptory in tone. It is a defensible position to decline to entertain novel views, which seem to conflict with venerable traditions to which the Christian consciousness has for centuries assented. But if they are to be considered, and the laws of historical evidence are appealed to, historical science must be permitted to give its verdict, whatever that may be worth, without fear. Liddon was constantly passing in review the religious or irreligious theories of contemporary thought. He was too intolerant of such views to give them a patient and impartial hearing. His burning religious zeal led him to make short work of whatever seemed to endanger the faith; and he was much too fond of the argument from consequences to which no science ever pays much heed when embarked on the voyage of

discovery. This was his misfortune rather than his fault, for how could he pass by difficulties which to many of his hearers appeared insuperable barriers to the acceptance of Christianity, how give them fair and adequate consideration in the spirit of a preacher, and within the limits of a sermon? He was not unaware that the sermon was an inadequate medium for theological discussion, and that he was prone to hasty judgments and peremptory speech. He once admitted in an Oxford sermon that he and others had been too ready to ban the new Biblical Science as an enemy of the Faith. "The loyalty to Revelation," he said, "which animates our prejudice, does not justify it. The great Alexandrians, who baptised the Platonic Philosophy, would have bidden us of to-day welcome, and christen the critical and scientific spirit." As time went on, however, and these views were more fully developed, he became an inflexible opponent of the conclusions regarding the Bible of the new critical school, holding that, unless we are prepared to believe in an inspiration of un-
veracity, we cannot admit that the Bible contains an idealised history, and discourses falsely attributed to those who never uttered them. Perceiving, with his wonted perspicacity, that these conclusions, if accepted, will profoundly alter the traditional view regarding the authority of the Bible, and of the theology founded upon it, he refused to cast into the crucible all that he most valued, although the promise was given that it would come forth gold twice refined. He lost no opportunity of controverting what appeared to him dangerous opinions, or of placing them in the light of the delicate irony which he knew so well how to employ. A proof was given of the unalterableness of his convictions on this point, a few months before his death, on the publication of "*Lux Mundi*," in which large concessions were made to the critical school. He had condemned the views when advocated by men of other schools. He did not pardon them, or preserve a politic silence, when they were defended by his own friends, of whom he did not hesitate to say that they had accepted the premisses of infidelity without being aware of it. Now that he is gone, neither friend nor foe will cherish a grudge to his memory because of his over-hasty judgments and peremptory speech.

There was, in his most vehement rebukes, no taint of personal bitterness, and none of the lower vices of the controversialist. He spoke what he believed, and because he believed it. He would have judged it a poor mark of consideration for friends to keep silence regarding their errors on a subject of momentous importance.

JOHN GIBB.

“Until the Day Break,” and other Hymns and Poems left behind.

By Horatius Bonar, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1890.

WHAT is it that makes a song to be a song, and a hymn to be a hymn? What is that subtle something which differentiates them from other verses, so that we almost instinctively take to singing some poems, while others we only read? It is not the mere rhythm that gives them this character (though doubtless that may have something to do with it), for two sets of verses may have exactly the same rhymes and cadences, and the one set shall sing themselves naturally, while the other will hardly submit to any musical expression. Nor may we affirm that the former are more strictly poetical than the latter, and consequently raise the mind into higher and happier strains. On the contrary, there are verses, we believe, in all languages,—certainly there are in our English tongue,—which are distinguished at once by a finer idealism, and a richer imagery than any of our songs or hymns, and yet, though they possess the very highest poetic qualities, they are only to be read, and one would never think of singing them. Wordsworth’s *Ode on the Intimations of Immortality* is absolutely gorgeous alike in its poetic thought and diction, but it is not a hymn, and it could hardly be set to music, or seize on the ear of the people if it were, as a hymn should always do. Not a few of our very best songs, on the other hand, have little or nothing of the grace of poetic expression, and many hymns are even marred by turns of expression which add to their beauty, but injure their simplicity. Hence our highest poets, men with “imagination all compact,” have often failed in this kind of composition, while others who had

little or no poetry in them, have yet written thoroughly popular songs, and hymns that laid hold on the hearts of all Christian people. Milton, with all the splendour of his genius, has contributed practically nothing to our English antiphone, while "Rock of Ages, cleft for me" sprang living out of the hard, dry soil of a bitter controversialist, to whom otherwise we should never have ascribed any poetic gift at all. Stranger still, the power of song-writing, and that of hymn-writing do not necessarily go together. Apparently one may have the one in singular perfection, and yet fail in the other. There is hardly a more exquisite song-writer in our language than the Baroness Nairn was. The humour of "The Laird o' Cockpen," the pathos of "The Land o' the Leal," and the tender yearning of "Will ye no come back again?" bear sufficient witness to her rare and varied gifts. Yet when her bright youthful genius ripened into a devout and beautiful piety, her hymns show almost nothing of the exquisite quality which so distinguished her songs. Some may be disposed to blame her theological opinions for this failure, and to say that a somewhat narrow Evangelicalism could hardly produce hymns of a kind to seize on the heart of the whole Church. But her early songs were about as much dominated by her political ideas as her later poems were by her theological convictions, and those songs are dear to many who have no sympathy at all with her Cavalier notions, while her hymns hardly touch the heart even of those who are quite at one with her religious views. Moreover, it is certain that the great body of our English hymns—and those especially which go deepest into our nature, and most perfectly express our religious thought and feeling, came from the most pronounced Evangelicalism of the churches, and are often saturated with its characteristic ideas. Cowper, the Wesleys, Newton, James Montgomery, Toplady, Miss Elliott, and Horatius Bonar all belonged to that party, and have enriched our Hymnology far more than Keble, and Newman, and Heber, and Lyte, and Palmer, excellent as much of their work assuredly is. One might have been disposed to think that Christian hymns, being for all men and all times, would necessarily rise above particular schools of opinion, and that they

would fail in their higher aim just in proportion as they took shape from special dogmatic views rather than from universal religious feelings. And, no doubt, many of them are more or less marred by the obtrusion of theological formulæ into the domain of poetry. Yet, on the other hand, some of those which are most universally cherished, like "Rock of Ages," and "Just as I am," are fashioned on the most stringent lines of Evangelicalism, and could not have grown on any other soil. Our best hymns are not merely incidentally the product of that school, but they are, in a great measure, the expression of their distinguishing views of religious truth and life. And yet they commend themselves to all the schools and to all the churches, except perhaps the Roman, as the most broadly human utterances of the Divine idea of praise, with the exception of the Hebrew Psalter, and in parts, at least, some of the old Latin hymns.

All this, now, goes to show that the question with which we started, What is it that makes a hymn to be a hymn, and not merely a religious poem? is a very nice one, and by no means easily answered. There are many verses which are used as hymns, indeed, but are not so in reality, though people get accustomed to them, and by frequent singing of them lose their taste for what is true. It is amazing indeed how far this may go. I have heard a congregation lustily shouting Pope's translation of the "*Animula, vagula, blandula*" ("*Vital spark of heavenly flame*") as if it were a Christian hymn, instead of a heathen sentiment; and there are many other things, quite as outrageous, sung every day as songs of Zion. I will not attempt, however, to answer the question I put; but when one comes across a true hymn, one somehow knows it, and, on the whole, the Christian instinct, if it sometimes accepts the wrong article, rarely rejects the true one. Therefore it has now for many years enrolled the name of Horatius Bonar as one of its genuine hymn writers, about whom there can be no doubt that he has enriched our divine praise with some of its most real and exquisite utterances. I do not know that he is very much of a poet—that his imagination is very soaring, or his imagery very striking, or that, apart from his hymns, he would be counted among the immortals. I am

not sure that, even as a writer of hymns, he can take rank with our foremost singers. Several of Cowper's have a finer quality, as literature at any rate, than any of his. None of them, I think, come quite up to Montgomery's "For ever with the Lord," or Miss Elliott's "Just as I am," or to Sarah Adams' "Nearer my God to Thee," or to Wesley's "Jesus, lover of my Soul," or to Toplady's "Rock of Ages," or to Keble's "Sun of my Soul, Thou Saviour dear," or to Lyte's "Abide with me." Of these writers, none, except Newton, Montgomery, and Keble, are reckoned among our poets exactly, yet all of them have written most effective and serviceable hymns—better, I think, than any of Dr Bonar's. Yet he has contributed more largely to our hymnology than perhaps any of them except Cowper, and many of his hymns, too, are of a very high quality, expressing with power and simplicity what is in every Christian heart. Hitherto Scotland had not done much in this way. Though deeply religious and abounding in song, yet her religion had never sung itself to much purpose till Dr Bonar arose. Logan and Michael Bruce had paraphrased some passages of Scripture which, along with others, had formed a pleasant variety in our congregational praise. But of hymns proper, growing up like natural flowers from the soil of Scottish religious life, there were none, if we except, perhaps, Dickson's "O mother, dear Jerusalem," which was an echo of an old Latin one. The "Buke of Gude and Godly Ballats" of the Reformation age was an ingenious attempt to utilise the popular songs of the time for religious purposes, but was more curious than edifying. Altogether, then, the piety and the poetry of our country had gone their several ways, and had little to say to each other, till Dr Bonar arose, and without having much of a strictly poetic genius, yet produced a variety of very beautiful hymns breathing the purest spirit of Christian faith and hope. Indeed, there are few more exquisite expressions of faith than such as these: "I heard the voice of Jesus say, Come unto Me and rest," or "I lay my sins on Jesus, The spotless Lamb of God," or "Thy way, not mine, O Lord, However dark it be." They are genuine hymns. They sing themselves, and they say just what Christian hearts want

to say on the subject. They are not merely pleasant to read, one wants to use them in praise. They are not merely religious poems, they are strictly religious songs, whatever that be in them which makes them proper hymns. Dr Bonar was a strict evangelical in his doctrine, using that word in its purely conventional sense. He was also a millennarian, and all his hope for the world was bound up with a personal return and reign of Christ on the earth. Both of these lines of thought also entered largely into his hymns, and stamped them with a peculiar character. And yet multitudes who do not belong to the evangelical school, and who have no sympathy whatever with his millennial views, can take his songs into their mouths, and sing them with interest and delight. That certainly shows the power of the writer to raise his theme above the sectarianism of opinion into the universalism of faith, which is one function of the true poet. I do not say that all his verses attain that high character. Some of them, on the contrary, are little better than short sermons in rhyme. But not a few of his real hymns rise high above the formulas of his school, and appeal to all Christian hearts. They present also a considerable variety both of aim and of spirit. For just as the songs of a people are of diverse kinds, some being love-songs, others war-songs, some patriotic and others festive, so the hymns of the Church, too, breathe forth her love of Christ, or her confidence in the struggle with the world, or they tell of the glory of His kingdom, or the bliss of its holy festivals. Dr Bonar has given us examples of all these, and if none of them takes perhaps its place in the foremost ranks, yet have they given him a name which is deservedly dear to the whole Christian Church.

The posthumous volume which suggests this notice of Dr Bonar's work consists of a number of pieces written at various times, some of them as long ago as 1864, others showing that he continued to pencil his thoughts in verse down well nigh to the day of his death. The book will be welcome to his many friends all the world over, but I do not think it will add another strain to the Church's Hymnology. It consists of religious poems, evangelical reflections, millennial hopes, all going to prove how steadfast he was to his early faith, and

what comfort he found in it. But there is nothing singable in the book. It will not greatly raise his already well-established reputation, but neither will it lower it. If the poetry is not striking, the piety is abundant, and it is as a help to piety that it will be chiefly read. Perhaps the freshest thing in it is a little poem called

CHRIST OUR SACRIFICE.

Enough of blood ; raze the old altar now,
And quench the fire that has for many an age
Been burning with that strange unearthly glow,
As if no time its fierceness could assuage :
Peace, heavenly peace, is now our heritage.

All sacrifice is o'er ; send back the lamb
To the green fields ; no more we need its blood.
The day of health has come ; the blessed balm
For the sick conscience grows in yonder wood ;
Death now is life, our lamb the Lamb of God.

Dry up the crimson stream, and wash away
From the red pavement every trace and stain
Of the old blood that flowed for many a day ;
Let nothing of the unfinished past remain :
'Tis finished now, and the One Lamb is slain.

Scatter the ashes, strew them far and wide,
The symbols of a fire which to its last
Has burned, and in its burning thus has died,
Into that fire our guilt has all been cast,
And the dread wrath is now for ever past.

That is, perhaps, as good an example as any, both of the theology and the piety of this book ; and with that we conclude, doubting not that Dr Bonar's many readers will be grateful for this volume as a final memorial of his service to the Church and to Christian life.

WALTER C. SMITH.

Knowing and Being.

By John Veitch, LL.D., Professor of Logic and Rhetoric in the University of Glasgow. William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1889.

EXACTLY forty years ago Professor Veitch was the prizeman in Sir William Hamilton's class, and it is difficult for one who remembers what he was at that time to review his latest book without connecting it with those earliest influences. Among Hamilton's pupils, Veitch was by no means the most Hamiltonian. The chief speculative society of those days was one instituted not by Sir William Hamilton but by Professor Fraser. And on the benches and in the chair of "The Metaphysical," Veitch was distinguished by wideness of outlook, impartiality, and independence, as well as by a general power which left all his contemporaries behind him. Yet with the lapse of years most of them have passed from the standpoint of Sir William Hamilton, while Professor Veitch has been found, among the faithless, faithful almost alone. It is natural for outsiders to connect this defection with the memorable assault which was made by John Stuart Mill, and which exposed so many surface cracks, if not internal chasms, in Hamilton's system. But Mill's *Examination* was published long subsequent to 1850; in fact, after Sir William's death. And as early as that year it happened sometimes even to very youthful students, during the short period of eighteen months usually devoted to Hamilton, to traverse the whole distance between idolatry of him as a teacher and utter disbelief in his system. The process of revolt was not the same in each case. Sometimes what was found impossible to receive was the new, original, and characteristic doctrine; for example, the philosophy of the Conditioned. Sometimes the seeds of scepticism were sown rather by the discovery of chinks and crevices in a seemingly solid system, which had been bound together with brocards and boastful aphorisms as with bands of iron. Hamilton was himself conscious that he had omitted to connect together in his lectures some apparently inconsistent facts or positions. But at the time of which I speak, his natural reluctance to unweave or reweave any part of

his web had been very pardonably increased by a paralytic affection, which lamed him on one side from head to foot. The consequence was that it was not till near the end of their second year that some of his students realised that their master, who claimed to be the chief and almost the sole representative of the view that we are "directly conscious of the external world," held also what is popularly supposed to be the opposite view. He held that no two men ever saw, or even looked at, the same object; that no man ever saw the sun, or the Venus of Milo; that all that we see is something in our own retina, and that nothing outside the organism is perceived at all. The two views might perhaps be consistent, but they were not systematised. And such lapses or afterthoughts in putting together his system perhaps caused Hamilton the loss of more disciples than did their own doubts of its prominent and pretentious parts. But sometimes both causes were combined. And when combined they were fatal.

The truth is, Sir William Hamilton was a born critic as truly as a born dogmatist, and he roused in his undergraduate pupils a passion for analysis which some of them turned against himself. This is no theory invented after the lapse of years. I have had the curiosity to verify it from notes written within the decade with which I am dealing. I find there, no doubt, abundant evidence of positive elements to swell the passionate admiration which Hamilton inspired. There was the noble presence, the large utterance, the voice that stirred like a trumpet, as it "invited those who were but lately striplings and schoolboys to enter the very shrine and penetralia of knowledge," the intoxicating sense of the dignity of the new work to which he called, and that more sober but more powerful appetite—the newly awakened hunger for truth—"not of an age, of a sect, or of a school, but like its author, *id ipsum, et id ipsum, et id ipsum*, unchangeable and divine." But alongside of this positive passion there is acknowledged a "blast of analysis, which stripped off from us all our previous notions and prejudices, like leaves from the trees in autumn. All our lives we had been dealing with vague ideas, mumbling words which had no distinct meaning in our minds or which might have any meaning; hazy thoughts, nebulous concep-

tions, misty imaginations, muddy arguments: now, point by point, and part by part, all things grew clear before our eyes; we used no word ourselves that was not limited and defined; we believed no word of others that did not present a distinct idea to our minds—the chaos of thinking became a cosmos of thoughts. . . . And now, all things were before us—all questions, all theories, all speculations, all opinions—all products of human thought were in our hands, to analyse, to sift, to search, to disintegrate into their component elements, to reunite to their original sources, to pull down and to rear up, to build and to destroy.” Was it strange that youths, hardened for the time into such a temper as this, should turn its edge against the very system with which it was proposed to bind them,—with the result occasionally of retaining no connection with Hamilton except immense personal admiration and endless personal gratitude?

Professor Veitch’s book is really a criticism of T. H. Green’s “Prolegomena to Ethics,” on the fundamental questions of consciousness and perception. Other Neo-Kantians are occasionally touched upon, but the argument in this volume—it is indicated that others may follow—is confined to the Hegelian confusion or identification of knowing and being, found more or less in them all. So far as Green is concerned we think our author is within his right and has made good his case. Whether a system, in which knowing and being shall be the same, may be attained by rising to it *per saltum*, or even by descending upon it from some transcendental point of departure, we need not say. Idealism has perhaps its own rights on its own ground. But Mr Green does not put forth unsupported idealism, nor does he profess mere earnest-minded muddling. He reasons or seems to reason every step of his earlier way, and one who does so must abide the judgment of logic. And what logic finds on every page is a constantly recurring superfluity or ambiguity. His demonstration that you cannot have even a succession of sensations, without having also something contributed by intellect, is by no means so clear or forcible as that of Lotze; while he makes haste to back out of it as soon as he comes to the case of the lower animals. But the chief instance of Green’s rea-

soning by ambiguity is that fixed upon by Professor Veitch—as in his constant use of the phrase, “existing for,” from which to step or not, as suits best, to the idea of mere existence; or in the so-called argument, that because the relations “which for us determine sensible facts” exist in our thought, “it follows that thought is the necessary condition of the *existence* of sensible facts.” One is sometimes puzzled to guess why he entangles himself with this dubious machinery—his ethical interests seem more secure without it. But so one might question what interest the Hamiltonian has in maintaining Dualism, after perception of a world properly external is given up. In the present case Professor Veitch is merely the critic, and he cuts clean.

A. TAYLOR INNES.

Professor W. G. Elmslie, D.D.: Memoir and Sermons.

*Edited by W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D., and A. N. Macnicoll.
Second Edition. Hodder & Stoughton. 1890.*

ONE cannot lay down a volume like this without a feeling of regret that the career of so bright and gifted a spirit should have been closed when it seemed to be but opening. Dr Elmslie was not only one of the most brilliant preachers in the Presbyterian Church, or in any of the churches, but he was singularly fitted by his own strong faith and by his sympathy with new thought and new movements for being a spiritual leader in an age of transition. He was just the sort of man most needed by the church to give direction to her thought and work. He had but reached his platform of influence when death snatched him from us, and there is now little left but a meaningful memory to be an inspiration to fellow workers.

The Memoir has been well written by his two friends. It is an etching executed with a few well chosen lines. It brings before the reader the breezy, buoyant humanity of a winsome nature, though the editors are themselves conscious how difficult it is to convey a due impression of the charm of his personality.

The Sermons included in the volume are but specimens of

his ordinary preaching. Beautiful and stimulating as they are, they do not furnish an adequate measure of the versatility and spiritual insight of the preacher. They are in the best sense *modern*. The preacher knows what is being thought and said outside ecclesiastical and official circles, and makes his hearers feel that he knows; but at the same time it is not upon passing phases of thought, but upon the abiding spiritual verities that he rivets attention. He does not think out his own difficulties in the presence of the congregation as is the habit of some "modern" preachers. His own "soul-struggles are fought out in darkness and alone" (p. 143), and strong in the strength of a faith which has overcome, he enters the pulpit to strengthen the faith of those who are weak. Another note of these sermons is *reality*. Compared with many popular preachers, Dr Elmslie won success slowly. For years his preaching was scantily appreciated, save by a few hearers of special discernment. The reason was probably this—that he would not talk "as he ought to have talked," and was resolved to preach only that which had gripped his own soul. He delivered his own message in his own way, with the result that after he became more completely master of his message in later years, he *made* his hearers feel that there was before them a *real* man speaking to them of *real* things. There was no trace in him of the merely abstract theologian. He was interested both in theology and philosophy, but only in as far as they helped him to understand the experience of ordinary men and women. It was the ethical side of theological and philosophical doctrines that *held* him. Scholasticism in either sphere was a pet aversion. It was man that interested him. Perhaps one of his strongest characteristics was his insight into the inner workings of men's minds and hearts. His insight was keen enough to have made him a brilliant cynic had that insight not been conjoined with a Christlike sympathy towards the weak and the erring. With a tender touch these sermons lay a loving finger upon the sores of humanity, and apply a healing balm. In this connection it is significant that the preacher chose many of his subjects from the stories of the Old Testament. He found there an opportunity for dealing with the simple basal elements of

human life. The sermon on Joseph's Faith is a beautiful example of how the Old Testament can be made to live in the hands of one who understands at once the human heart and the old world stories.

There is little discussion of theological questions in these sermons. Occasionally a bold word is spoken as when the preacher is dealing with "idols" which come between God and the soul: "Ay, and when this Bible of ours—this Protestant Bible of ours, or our great Evangelical doctrines are taken, and have given to them a place of importance in our salvation and in our belief that they ought not to have, once again be sure of it, God will create a true, lawful, and blessed recoil, and you will have these sacred things dashed down to a position of undue depreciation. It is God's way of leading us to Himself" (p. 173). The theological creed of the preacher may be simple, but its few articles are held with an intensity of personal conviction. One of these articles is the reality of God's love in human life. In the delirium of the fatal fever which cut him off, he said to his wife: "God is love. All love. We will tell every one that, but especially our own boy." Another article of his faith was the supreme significance and spiritual power of the personality of Jesus Christ. Theological metaphysics about the person of Christ had little interest for him, but the wonderfulness of Christ's personality was, for him, *the* fact of human history. The love of God and the saving power of Christ in the hearts of individuals and in the life of societies—in that formula might be summed up his spiritual outlook.

In a sermon on The Example of the Prophets, Dr Elmslie says: "A prophet was a man who knew the character of the true and living God, and because he knew and loved Him, and was living with Him, he made other men know Him, and feel Him and understand Him too" (p. 213). Surely he himself deserved to be numbered with "the goodly fellowship of the prophets."

D. M. Ross.

The Lives and Times of the Minor Prophets.

By Ven. Archdeacon Farrar, D.D. London: Nisbet & Co.

THIS volume—one of the now imposing “Men of the Bible” series—is a fresh monument of the truly astonishing industry and versatility of its celebrated author; for its pages bristle with references to the critics and interpreters of the Old Testament almost as much as the author’s former works abound with quotations from the authorities on the New. The book is packed with information, which, it need hardly be said, is presented with consummate literary skill. Indeed, as far as style is concerned, some may consider this the best of Dr Farrar’s books; for the narrow limits of the series in which it appears have placed restraints on his eloquence, and the mind of the reader has not to the same degree, as in reading some of his larger works, the sense of being withered with a tempest of words.

A writer so competent is certain of a warm welcome when he offers himself as a guide to the Minor Prophets, because this is perhaps the most difficult portion of Scripture, and commentators have done comparatively little to help people through it. These functionaries have the bad habit, sometimes attributed to other public servants, of being least in evidence where they are most required; and, if Dr Farrar’s work gives the ordinary reader less help than might have been hoped for, the fault may be theirs more than his, because they have not elaborated the Minor Prophets enough to make them ready yet for the populariser. It must be confessed that, even after Dr Farrar’s elucidations, at least the half of these prophets still remain desperately obscure.

The author gives in each case, first, a biography of the prophet, and then an account of the contents of his book. The biographies are written with great spirit, every scrap of information being ingeniously made use of, and there is generally given a strong and clear account of the drift of the prophet’s thought, in the course of which explanations of obscure words and sentences are supplied from the best interpreters, especially from Ewald. The reader who has his Eng-

lish Bible open will find many a crooked place made straight and rough place plain.

The chief defect of the book is the lack of a simple and vivid account of the historical background of the prophets' lives and writings. Indeed, this is the test of every book on the prophets; for the reason why the prophetic writings are so obscure is because the events are so little known out of which they sprang. A succinct sketch of the history would have been much more to the point than the somewhat commonplace remarks on prophecy in general with which the volume opens. In these the author specially emphasises the truth that prophecy is not the same thing as prediction—that "a prophet is not so much a foreteller as a forth-teller"—a truth which writers on prophecy still put forward as a novelty, though it must by this time be a commonplace in every Sunday School. They exaggerate it, too, as may be natural in the reaction from an exaggeration on the opposite side. For, after all, prediction was a very remarkable prophetic gift; and, though it is the fashion at present to ignore or minimise it, the great prophets never did so themselves; and it is more scientific, as well as more difficult, to define its actual extent and estimate its real value.

JAMES STALKER.

A History of Philosophy.

By Johann Eduard Erdmann, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Halle. English Translation edited by Willison S. Hough, Ph.M., Assistant Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in the University of Minnesota. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1890.

WHAT is directly in connection here is the appearance of an English translation of the work which Erdmann, like Ueberweg in his own similar case, modestly calls a *Grundriss* (ground-plan) of the history of philosophy. In this reference Professor Hough, who edits the work, explains that "it has been designed to omit the designation of 'Outlines' from the title-page," though, as in the original, it is preserved "in the text." "Outlines," of course, aptly enough translates

Grundriss, though more *strictly* correspondent to *Umriß*, which, in a like application, is the word of Schwegler; and is not to be lost sight of as a distinctive designation, if only in view of Erdmann's much larger historical contribution which is confined to modern philosophy. Nearly twenty years ago, the present writer, in the preface to the third edition of his *Schwegler* (in 1871), remarked of this work of Erdmann's that it "ought to be translated into English," and, accordingly, it is all the more a satisfaction that this duty has been accomplished at last.

It is common information now-a-days that, in the exposition of philosophy, historically and otherwise, Dr Erdmann of Halle has been long in possession of a reputation almost exceptionally high, and not, by any means, limited to Germany. Very specially in this reference we have undoubtedly to signalise the work before us. No genuine student of philosophy, it may be safely said, but bears it in mind with peculiar gratitude, not seldom turning his regards to it for consultation and support; and, if it has proved only less popular than the correspondent works of Ueberweg and Schwegler (the one in the seventh edition, and the other in the fourteenth at the same time that 20,000 copies are stated to have been sold during the currency of the fifth), it is to be considered that the *Grundriss* of Erdmann has, in twelve years, seen three editions, while the single original, the scroll of Hegel, without which not one of them either would or could have been written,—after a first scant press, only followed in seven years by as scanty a second,—has never, in a further half-century, put forth another step! Professor Muirhead, as general editor of the proposed *Library of Philosophy*, now introduced by it, pronounces Erdmann's History of Philosophy to be "long since recognised in Germany as the best." That, to be sure, is, in the circumstances, somewhat to stretch the material, it may be; but good nature without difficulty, for all that, "wisheth the well-wishing adventurer in setting forth all happiness" of success in the end, with ready *amnestia* of a little puff to begin!

Erdmann, who calls himself "der letzte Mohekaner der hegel-schen Schule" (the last Mohican of the Hegelianschool), was born

in 1805, at Wolmar in Livonia, and is thus, but for his name, which is genuinely German (*ächt deutsch*), a possible claimant, of other three nationalities, to wit, Polish, Swedish, and Russian. He was partly educated at the neighbouring Dorpat, and partly at Berlin. He entered the Church and was at first a pastor; but returning to Berlin, he qualified himself as a *privatim docens* at the university there, whence, in 1836, he was transferred to Halle; and here, ever since, he has remained. His earliest composition of any name was the "Versuch einer wissenschaftlichen Darstellung der Geschichte der neuern Philosophie" (Attempt at a Scientific Delineation of the History of Modern Philosophy), a laborious and comprehensive work, in three parts, and six volumes, which, begun in 1834, was only completed in 1853. He has given publicity at various times to treatises on psychology, logic, and metaphysic. He has written on the State, on academic study, on university reform, and largely otherwise. He has delivered scores and scores of sermons, for example, the tendency of which, apparently, was towards the orthodoxy of the church. In private character, Erdmann is represented to be a most amiable man and true scholar, eminently simple and plain, but staunch, upright, thorough,—prompt with assistance to the student who asks and needs, but blank at once when he who asks may discover for himself. There is probably no man alive who, as much and laboriously and perseveringly has pored over and grubbed in books—books of every and any age—books the dustiest, heaviest, and obscurest. And from all of them he has taken his own, as in regard to all of them he can shew. Ancient department, mediæval department, modern department: Erdmann is at home in each, and all in each is at first hand with Erdmann. So now, if, as rumour has it, he makes the evenings of his days no longer the hardship of toil, but the ease and pleasure of play in the reading with his spouse of the current fictions of literature, it is only for us who love and honour him, to wish him and his, in such relaxation, a long and happy close.

So far as the question of *system* may be entertained in connection with Erdmann and such works of his as concern philosophy, there can hardly be any reference to a system of

Erdmann's own. Philosophically, Erdmann's reflection is to be regarded as at once mature and full,—as quite exceptively comprehensive and thorough. As already said, he has read enormously, and he has studied and thought deeply; but his own endowments thereto, while open, susceptible, impartial, generous, are not so essentially different from those of the later German thinkers around him, as to have led to the striking out of what in philosophy should deserve to be characterised as a new and original system. It may be questioned, in fact, whether the actual situation anywhere at present be, in any way, such as at all to admit of the possibility of any man developing a *system*, a new system in philosophy. "Who-so understands not 'Greek and German philosophy,'" says Arnold Ruge, "he understands not our own time;" and in this way he gives voice to a current doctrine of his countrymen, who declare that we have to speak, properly, of only two periods of philosophy, the Greek and the German, and in them, further, only of a single series of successive, related, and connected philosophies, or rather, in them all, only of one philosophy. Ruge and his countrymen, indeed, have so intimately realised to themselves this view that such an eventuality as the emergence of a new formation in philosophy, if at all to be considered single, singular, and alone, would certainly seem to them not one whit less surprising than the sudden appearance of a new and unconnected development in nature. Philosophy is never to them "the spick and span new invention of some isolated and solitary original," but the result of the developed and duly co-ordinated thoughts of all true philosophers. "It is utterly childish," says Ruge again, "to regard earlier philosophies as only aberrations of the human intellect; they are all discoveries of the truth; there is no such thing as a philosophy that were the independent product of a single original head: philosophy, in truth, is the historical development, from the very first, of thought and thinking, and never belongs exclusively to any man as his own proper and peculiar creation."

If such views as these are correct, and if it is true that more than a hundred years ago, the course of history, so far as philosophy is concerned, passed from Great Britain to the Con-

continent, then it is to be feared that we here, ever since, have been only vainly toiling at scattered illusions of our own. If we are not, as the Germans say, *verschollen*, lost from sight and never more heard of, we are at least, again, as the French say, *dérailles*: we are off the rails, we are *gli scostati*, the shunted ones; we are cheerfully digging away at a blind cutting, which leads nowhere—from which outlet there is none. And it is only because they sell so well that we are not aware that our books look so shabby. I know not that Erdmann would say of us anything so sweeping and unmeasured. It is certain that the Germans generally—except some of those that translate Buckle, perhaps—regard the English as already left behind by them in everything, at least, that relates to thinking; and it is not certain that, on the whole, and as a nation, we do not still look for all advancement in enlightenment to the shallows of the *Aufklärung*—to the men to whom to be able to see the discrepancies of the Bible is the ultimate of intelligence! That truly is but a shunting into a blind cutting, where every stroke leads but to the dark and darker. But that is Buckle, and we are without a qualm.

As regards Erdmann, however, it is certain that, be it as it may with him in other respects, he is of the same mind with Ruge and his countrymen in regard, historically, to the solidarity of philosophy. He has followed and assisted at its progress since, so to speak, the rails from Hume were taken up by Kant, and relaid in Germany. He makes no pretensions to the possession of a system on his own account; and he is content to appear only as an adherent. He knows and justifies the fact that this book of his “carries the colours precisely of the Hegelian school.” Throughout all his works, in fact, this is no mere admission on his part: it is his proclamation of pride. Referring to the Hegelians, “This name,” he says (section 344, 8), “can all the more readily be employed by the author of the present book, as the word is held by him to be a title of honour, rather than a term of reproach; and in employing it, he is far from wishing to deny originality to anyone who lays store by this quality.” This very work itself he specially associates here with the similar work of the Hegelian Schwegler. “In the year 1848, there followed,” he says (344,

10), "Alb. Schwegler's *Grundriss*, which has been very often reprinted, and with which that in hand is connected."

Even on the question of system, then, so far as it is referred to the history of philosophy, it is not to be wondered at that it is still the relative views of Hegel that have been dominant with Erdmann. Not that he is—just because he is a Hegelian—by any means singular or exceptive in this. Generally, in regard to the history of philosophy since Hegel, it may be said that no one even of those who have the merit, at least nominally, to resist the system of his name, can write on the subject without being conditioned everywhere by the lectures on the history of philosophy that are included in the collected works of Hegel. As much as this is evident, as well in the form as in the discussion of the precise material which we find in the history of philosophy by Ueberweg, who, with the consent of all, bears to regard himself as independent of any school.

So it is that neither man nor system is represented by Hegel as isolated and peculiar, unrelated to the past, and without connections in the present. "No man but is a son of his time," he says, and powerless "to overleap his day;" and no philosophy can leave the world of the here and the now to take stand elsewhere: "it is the same quality" (the philosophy, namely), "which pervades all the other sides of the national life; it stands in the inmost connection with them, and constitutes the very basis beneath them. The particular form of a philosophy is contemporaneous with the particular condition of the people itself in which it appears—with its constitution and forms of government, its established observances, its social life, the skills, crafts, customs, and conveniences of it, with its attempts and attainments in arts and sciences, with its religions, its fortunes in war, and external relations generally: the infinitely diversified whole mirrors itself in its philosophy as in the single focus which concentrates into itself all."

Erdmann never leaves his reader in any doubt as to his sympathy and entire agreement with all these views, as well of organic development from the past as of organic relation in the present. There is a *learned* treatment of the history of

philosophy, he says, which regards all systems as but opinions, and, consequently, as all equally true; a *sceptical* treatment which is indifferent to all as equally false; and an *eclectic* treatment which only selects from them, as in agreement with its own mind, parts. Opposed to all three, there is also, however, a *philosophical* treatment to which the history of philosophy is only philosophy itself, as Ferrier afterwards said, *taking its time*,—to which the series of philosophies is but the substantial flexion of the one philosophy. I know not, indeed, but that Erdmann's devotion to all this pushes on at times to such literal extreme as even to defeat itself—to such literal extreme, namely, as is but literal mannerism, lifeless, and on the outside merely.

How Erdmann opens his history is, as illustrative here, admirably in place. Philosophy begins only when man begins to think himself, his own existence; and that is only when, as free, he knows his own worth. Philosophy, therefore, belongs not to the East—not to China, nor India, nor Persia, nor Egypt, but only to Greece. A pre-Hellenic philosophy exists not. The *γνῶσις αὐτὴν* are the first words of philosophy, and, from the lips of their wisest, golden on their holiest shrine, they are the sacred words of the Greeks. It is ingenious to say all this, and it has the guise of truth; but has it more than that? Are there not those who will stand by the early philosophy of India at least? The rationalising nature of Erdmann finds repose, at all events, in such an exordium, and proceeds to link on to it a similarly construed series. If Greece is the very first stage or step of philosophy, the very first of the first of it there, naturally, can only be as the dream of the embryo. Even in Greece philosophy must begin in the immaturity, religious, moral, intellectual, which could but end in the practical sagacity of the seven sages. Again, these, as reflection at once suggests, were for the most part natives of colonies—why that? Oh, in order that laws, moral maxims, wise proverbs, philosophy itself arise, “the freshness of existence must die out, and decay must begin!” But these conditions are expressly found in colonies. Colonies are “cities or states originating from prudent calculation, and developing with rapid splendour!”

In the Greek colonies, further, there was the "intercourse with non-Hellenic nations that rendered possible the growth of philosophies that should answer the question of the riddle of existence in the pre-Hellenic spirit." All this is the preliminary rationale for the beginning of philosophy with Thales, followed by Anaximander and Anaximenes. But once here, it is impossible not to reflect that for the Greeks, not philosophy only, but poetry as well, began in colonies, and both in the same. Homer as well as Thales was an Ionian of Asia. Well, that, too, after all, was but another uniformity and agreement. So circumstanced, "the Ionic spirit can produce only a realistic philosophy of nature" (Thales); and so it is quite in order that "in its poetry it found its satisfaction only in the objective epic" (Homer)!

But, in the history of philosophy, Thales and the other Milesians are not allowed to have it all to themselves. They are succeeded there by the Pythagoreans. Now that is a prodigious step—a step from the brow of Asia Minor across intervening seas and the whole of Greece to the very heel of the Boot; that is not a step, but a stride, a stride from the extreme east to the extreme west of the entire Greek world, a stride not much short of a thousand miles—how is it to be accounted for? how is that enormous gap to be crossed, filled up, or bridged over? Here, as one sees, is a riddle expressly adapted for such an ingenuity as that of Erdmann. And he cries out at once, Well, is not this plain? If the Milesians had "understood themselves, they would have admitted that they were not concerned about water or air, but about what was permanent, substantial, and essential in all things—categories, namely, decernments of thought." If the Milesians had understood themselves! But, more closely and more articulately, Erdmann says again, The Milesians had "explained all variety by condensation and rarefaction" (thickening and thinning), "the mind that reflected upon itself, consequently, must arrive at the conclusion that differences have become differences of more or less, that is to say, differences of number." In this way Erdmann sees, and would make us see, the philosophy of Miletus already pregnant with the philosophy of Crotona. But do *numbers* bridge the gap?

And so it goes on, always with a reason ; no fact must be isolated ; Erdmann must have his answer for every emergency, even as a woman her excuse. Not that it is to be understood that we would wish to deny Erdmann, on the whole, to be largely successful and amply justified in this—according, at all events, to the example that has been set him. The question, accordingly, is of that example, and not of single transitions that may possibly appear at times but bare ingenuity more or less forced. And here we may have to confess that even in regard to the principle or principles in transitions of Hegel, we are not always free from hesitations and doubts. Spinoza certainly follows, and, as Erdmann says, corrects Descartes ; but would it be quite fair to say no more for Kant in his position to Hume ? What *makes* Kant, and *is* Kant, is the *a priori* which he finds in the subsections under the general section of *Judgment* in school logic. Kant was certainly led to that in thinking of Hume ; but the causal necessity carries not by any natural necessity to a consideration of the affections of propositions. It is true that the *Bildung*, the general intelligence of a nation, is in alliance with all its other forms, religious, social, literary, and the like. But how often is not the philosophical form a thing apart, something alone, something neglected on the whole, that has a regard to its nation hardly, in any strict sense, literal. Rather is not philosophy to be considered, whether prospective or retrospective, as a speculation œcumenical, and only contingently national ? But we have here a subject beyond our limits, and may leave it as any further out of our scope for the present.

Let it be as it may, however, with Erdmann in respect to connections, there can be no doubt whatever of the substantial value of his presentment of the history of philosophy. Not a single philosophy but has been most anxiously inquired into, and all that is essential in it duly portrayed. The information has been, with his own eyes, perfectly collected ; and it has been, in his own happiest summarising brevity, as perfectly brought before us. This is the case even as regards the Middle Ages ; even there Erdmann has always, with infinite labour, seen for himself. When one has Erdmann

here, one needs neither Haureau, nor Jourdain, nor Huber, nor Kaulich. Not but that when one considers, whatever be its value as an historical document, how little such a capital work, for example, as Augustine's *Civitas Dei* philosophically tells us, and how, according to Prantl, the great *Albert*, and the great *Thomas*, and the great *Duns*, are, on the whole, anything but great, and have nothing to add to Aristotle—not but that when one considers as much, one is apt to suspect, apart from the satisfaction of one's curiosity, that, so far as the history of philosophy is concerned, any traffic with the Middle Ages may, without loss, or even with advantage, quite righteously fall out. As “within a presupposition,” perhaps Schwegler is not so wrong in omitting Scholasticism.

Erdmann's style is particularly excellent; a harnessed power, organic connection there, too, is its main characteristic. It is pointed withal, antithetic, epigrammatic; at times it simply consciously sports, as it were, with a masterful toss of its own syntax. The general effect of it is the shrewdly quaint, or the quaintly shrewd. There are such shrewd wrinkles always round a veteran eye in the midst of it. But all the time this style, this writing, however perfect in itself, is wholly, solely, and in every turn of it, German. It is not the style of Schwegler, with which, as French or English, and consequently instantly direct and clear, we are at once at home. Neither, all German as it is, is it the style of Ueberweg, which, however plain and always in earnest, has all the intricate in-and-in packing, and, by consequence, all the cumbrousness and weight of his countrymen's endlessly-claused sentences.

Veteran in style, Erdmann is always veteran in good nature too; he is never without kindness and a smile. What tolerance and equanimity he has for views that are even diametrically opposed to his own! He sees, and he tells us of it as he sees, his master, Hegel, literally riven piecemeal, without a single sparkle of the eye, without a quiver of the lip. Hegel is “blamed” by one man and “denounced” by another; a third talks bitterly in his regard of “delusion,” and is above measure thankful that he has been “enabled to see the completely untenable nature of Hegelian views.”

Erdmann chronicles all this in silence; he only consoles himself relatively when he has the chance to be pleased "with the tribute of recognition" which such and such a writer, or such and such another "pays to the master, Hegel, who is disowned by so many who live upon him!" Erdmann will always be just, impartial, true; he praises always, and never neglects to praise when praise he can. Wherever he gets assistance, too, he is ready to avow it, as when he names Zeller, Mullach, Bonitz, Brandis, Biese, Prantl, and others the like. He praises his rival Ueberweg unreservedly, and, as we have seen, is content that his own *Grundriss* should be associated with that of Schwegler.

I may close this notice by a word in regard to the translation. Seven competent scholars have had more or less to do with the work of it. This work, in face of the peculiarities of Erdmann's writing, could not, as may readily be surmised, prove an easy one—even without any attempt to transfer into English the precise style of the writing to which these peculiarities belong. That, indeed, could not have been well possible—it is wonderful what delicate meaning Erdmann contrives to insinuate (parenthetically) in a pair of hooks! But there is to be claimed for the translators, on the whole, a fair, clear, and correct rendering. I transcribe portion of a paragraph by way of example.

"No regretful longing for the glories of the past of which the plaintive elegy reaches our ears in the writings of Plato, can arrest the wheel of fate. The era of Greece has come to an end. To wrest from her hands the sceptre of the world, and thus to play the intermediary in its transition to Rome, was the destiny of the ephemeral supremacy of a people which was Greek and yet so unlike the Greeks, and which as in a dream anticipated the approaching universal empire of Rome. Philip, who deprived the Greeks of their reputation for invincibility, and his still greater son, who, by delivering the treasures of Greek culture to the East, robbed the Greeks of their true Palladium, the consciousness of being the intellectual *élite* of mankind, both of these dealt a mortal blow to Hellenism. But a time in which this new principle obtains acceptance can no longer content itself with the world-

formula of a philosopher who dreams of a State great by its smallness. A thinker is required capable of educating a king who subjects three continents, and who, just as his pupil does not hold the East in too great contempt to reside in it, himself does not consider anything too bad to be investigated, nor regards the conquest and amassing of all the treasures of knowledge as a robbery committed on the genius of philosophy. The poetical creativeness of Plato must be superseded by the collecting industry of Aristotle."

Plato, Greece, Macedonia, Alexander and the East, Aristotle and Philosophy : all here will exemplify the usual manner of Erdmann, his transitions, and his general rationalising connectiveness. Examination, too, will prove the translation excellent.

JAMES HUTCHISON STIRLING.

Religion : A Dialogue, and other Essays,

By Arthur Schopenhauer, selected and translated by T. B. Saunders, M.A. Second Edition. London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1890.

The Wisdom of Life, being the first part of Arthur Schopenhauer's Aphorismen zur Lebensweisheit.

Translated, with a Preface, by T. Bailey Saunders, M.A. London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1890.

THESE little volumes represent some of the more popular writings of the great modern pessimist. They are, let it be said at once, slight and sketchy in the extreme, and though even the *obiter dicta* of a thinker are interesting, and, therefore, should be welcomed in their English dress, yet it will be a misfortune if anyone is tempted to judge of Schopenhauer from these disjointed scraps merely. The age unhappily dotes on scraps. One of Mr Saunders' volumes is already in its second edition ; but when will this be true of Mr Kemp's valuable translation of the philosopher's *magnum opus* ?

The first of the above consists of a series of extracts from the *Parerga und Paralipomena*, a collection published by Schopenhauer towards the close of his life with the view of

popularising his main positions. Its contents are very various, papers on "Books and Reading," on "Physiognomy," and on "Psychology" alternating with others on such subjects as "Religion," "Pantheism," and "The Christian System." They are all of them brief, bright, and literary rather than philosophic in their treatment. They do not so much set forth a view or develop an argument as offer a series of suggestions on the topic in hand;—suggestions, however, which are often very apt and telling, as well as touched with Schopenhauer's own humour, sometimes dry and sometimes bitter. In the paper on "Reading" our invincible craving for the new book and our excessive tolerance for the poor get smartly rebuked, and on the general subject this is quotable: "Thoughts put on paper are nothing more than footsteps in the sand; you see the way the man has gone, but to know what he saw on his walk, you want his eyes." Observations of the same keen quality are to be found on every other page, together with others, it must be confessed, of that cynical sort that often makes Schopenhauer's otherwise pleasant pages so disagreeable. It is worth noticing how even in these jottings by the way on all things and sundry the main pessimistic principle now and again gleams through, as when it is given as a "psychological observation" that inertia and habit are just the "will" at different stages of objectivation, or when the pleasure we feel at beholding the free and unconscious movements of the lower animals is set down to the fact that in them we come face to face with this same basal principle of existence, the "will," while in men it is masked and hidden. Schopenhauer himself used to describe his system as a citadel with a hundred gates, and it is interesting to find yourself thus let in anywhere.

But of the theological pieces what can one say? Perhaps nothing. A review that still ventures to call itself Christian, when it notices the work of a writer who holds, with an infinite dogmatism, that Judaism, "as is well known," sprang from the Zendavesta and Christianity from Indian thought, that the only possible point of connection between the two systems is the doctrine of the *Fall*, that the "peculiar disadvantage" of Christianity is its historical character, and that indeed all religions merely contain in the allegorical form that

fits the mass of humanity (and with doubtful results at that), truths that the philosopher holds in their purity, and so on, and so on, may really be content to have noticed it and pass on,

The other volume is a sort of pessimist's guide to the wise and successful life, the curious thing being that from the first page to the last there is absolutely nothing pessimistic about it. Life to this writer also is a good thing! his aims and expectations, his counsels and injunctions are precisely the cultured Epicurean's! It is only fair to say that Schopenhauer himself admits as much. Rightly viewed, of course, life is, with him, essentially suffering. It represents the ceaseless self-assertion of the ultimate inscrutable force he names Will, its blind striving, its perennially unsatisfied desire; and were men only wise enough to see through the illusory shows of existence, they would withdraw from the struggle of life and so escape its inevitable misery. But that the ordinary man should attain such an insight is more than a thinker who believes so little in human nature can expect. Has not Voltaire said that "we shall all leave this world as wicked and as foolish as we found it"? And accordingly in this volume he consents to a compromise. Waiving the true metaphysical standpoint, he accepts the common view of things, and granting that a certain (illusory) happiness is attainable he goes on to ask: Of what kind then? and by what means? For the answer we must refer to the volume itself. It may be sufficient to have indicated the method of treatment, affording as it does so striking an illustration of the pessimistic paradox that the world is evil only and yet endures. For the rest it may be said that the conventional ethics get in these pages many a shrewd blow. No teacher has ever seen more clearly that the *happy* man is satisfied from himself, while his sense of the fruitlessness of all effort and desire leads to an insistence on *renunciation* as an element in the moral life which so far is good. And yet of course this renunciation is not properly Christian, any more than the pessimist's view of the world is Christian. Schopenhauer loudly protests a hyper-orthodoxy in both cases, but the error here is the same as when a similar claim is put in on

behalf of Buddhism. The Christian is bidden lose his life, but only that he may find it; and even though in his view the shadow that lies athwart existence is the darkest conceivable, this very fact appears only in the light of redemption.

ALEX. MARTIN.

Herbert Spencer's Lehre von dem Unerkennbaren.

*Von Ernst Grosse, Privatdocent an der Universität, Freiburg.
Leipzig: Weil & Co. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate.*

THIS work is not an exposition of Mr Spencer's philosophy, as a whole, nor does it deal with those parts of the synthetic philosophy which, to Mr Spencer himself, seem most valuable. There is no reference to his theory of evolution, nor does Herr Grosse intermeddle with the religious and ethical speculations of Mr Spencer. He limits himself to Mr Spencer's theory of knowledge. The doctrine of the "Unknowable" is the theme of the book.

Herr Grosse assigns to Mr Spencer a pre-eminent position among English philosophers. Mr Spencer is declared to be one of the most important thinkers of his country and people. Proofs are given of his influence. The numerous articles written for and against his system during the last ten years are sufficient proof, as Herr Grosse points out, of his far-reaching importance. All thinkers must reckon with the system of Mr Spencer.

Having thus, with due courtesy, recognised the eminence of Mr Spencer, Herr Grosse proceeds to his task. It consists of two parts. The first is an exposition of Mr Spencer's theory of knowledge, the second is a criticism of it. As regards the exposition, it is clear, fair, competent. Herr Grosse does not, as some of Mr Spencer's critics have done, confine himself to the "First Principles." He has taken into account also the "Principles of Psychology," in which the theory of knowledge is set forth in elaborate detail. It is only fair to Mr Spencer that his fuller statement of the doctrine of the Unknowable should be fairly considered and duly weighed. The only question is whether we can really and adequately estimate Mr

Spencer's doctrine of the Unknowable, in his theory of knowledge, without taking into account his other works. In his "Principles of Biology" his theory of knowledge is also restated, and receives fresh illustrations; while his ethical studies, and his speculations on religion, are ruled by his theory, and cast fresh light on it.

In the work before us, the exposition of Mr Spencer's theory is based on the "First Principles" and on the "Principles of Psychology." Every paragraph shows that Herr Grosse has closely studied these works; with true German thoroughness he has gone into the subject, has weighed, sifted, classified; and with a clearness—which is more than German—he has set forth the system of Mr Spencer. He professes to give us an "objective" exposition, and his claim, we think, may be allowed. We believe that Mr Spencer would himself be satisfied with the account here given of his system. We have read many accounts of Mr Spencer's thought, both by those who agree with him and by those who do not; but we have never seen his doctrine of the Unknowable, or his theory of knowledge, more clearly set forth, not even by himself.

It is not necessary for us to summarise the summary of Mr Spencer's system given by Herr Grosse. We may take for granted that the main parts of Mr Spencer's philosophy are pretty well known. At all events, we cannot state them here. The first step in the criticism before us is to point out that Mr Spencer's doctrine of the Unknowable rests on the doctrine of the relativity of knowledge. As this doctrine is stated by Mr Spencer, it would appear that all knowledge ultimately leads to an unknown and Unknowable. Herr Grosse quotes the following: "If the successive deeper interpretations of nature which constitute advancing knowledge are merely successive inclusions of special truths in general truths, and of general truths in truths more general, it obviously follows that the most general truth, not admitting of inclusion in any other, does not admit of interpretation." In answer to this statement, it is pointed out by Herr Grosse that the truth which is most universal is also the truth which is most clear. Advancing knowledge is not from the known to the unknown, but the reverse. It is the inclusion of the unknown in what

is known. In fact this is consistent with the teaching of Mr Spencer himself, when he makes the "persistence" of force the most general, and the most sure of all the principles on which knowledge is based. Other defects in Mr Spencer's exposition of the Relativity of Knowledge are pointed out, and then Herr Grosse passes to the criticism of the doctrine of the Unknowable.

He points out that Mr Spencer has given us three definitions of the "Unknowable." It is (1) the Absolute; (2) the Unknown reality; (3) the Unknown force. These three predicates assigned to one subject are incompatible, and mutually irreconcilable. By Mr Spencer the Absolute "is defined as that of which no necessary relation can be predicated," and he has no difficulty in showing that this Absolute is "unknowable." But then the Absolute becomes an unknown reality, in which "subject and object are united." It is "a power of which the nature remains for ever inconceivable, and to which no limits in Time or Space can be imagined," but which "works in us certain effects." The criticism of Herr Grosse is, that if the Absolute can work certain effects in us, it stands to us in a relation, the relation of cause to these effects, and at once it ceases to be the Absolute which exists "out of all relations." "We have on the one hand an Absolute, which stands in no relation, and is unknowable; and on the other hand a Reality, which is a cause in relation to certain effects, and in a certain measure is knowable; in other words, we have two definitions which completely contradict one another" (p. 73). Mr Spencer must make his choice between the two definitions. "Either the ultimate reality is Absolute and unknowable, or it is relative and knowable; both it cannot be."

Herr Grosse passes on to the examination of the proof of the existence of the Absolute. Mr Spencer has said: "To say that we cannot know the Absolute is, by implication, to affirm that there is an Absolute. In the very denial of our power to learn *what* the Absolute is, there lies hidden the assumption *that* it is; and the making of this assumption proves that the Absolute has been present to the mind, not as a nothing, but as a something." The argumentation is by no

means conclusive. For, as Herr Grosse points out, the phrase, "we cannot know the Absolute," has two wholly different meanings. It may mean, "we cannot know whether there exists an Absolute or not," or it may mean, "we know that an Absolute exists, but we cannot know as what or how it exists." In an interesting foot-note it is shown that the English word "know" is ambiguous, and the ambiguity arises from the fact that it has the sense both of "Wissen" and of "Erkennen." Mr Spencer's argumentation would therefore be impossible in German, in which the meaning of "to know" would be precisely defined.

The further argumentation of Mr Spencer with regard to the existence of the Absolute is shown to be self-contradictory. When he says, "appearance without reality is unthinkable," he has again departed from his definition. In fact, all his arguments prove is, that his definition of the Absolute is a mistake, and the sooner he and others give it up the better. The Absolute, out of all relation, is like the Kantian thing-in-itself, a metaphysical ghost, and the sooner it is laid to rest the better for all parties.

Herr Grosse is of opinion that in this part the philosophy of Mr Spencer is at its weakest. He gives a qualified approval to the Spencerian doctrine of "Transfigured Realism," but puts some questions which Mr Spencer would find rather difficult to answer. On these, however, we may not dwell. The criticism of the Spencerian doctrine of Time and Space is sharp, clear, and incisive, and the account given by Mr Spencer of the genesis of our notions of time and space is shown to be untenable even on his own principles. Then follows a criticism of the doctrine of the "persistence of force," in which Herr Grosse points out various inconsistencies, and endeavours to arrive at the truth which underlies the Spencerian doctrine. In conclusion, it is pointed out that the sources of Mr Spencer's errors are mainly two. The first is, that he has taken abstractions for realities, and has fallen under the dominion of what he himself calls "a disease of language." He has dealt with abstract views and logical distinctions as if they must have an existence in reality, and is as scholastic as any schoolman. The second source of error is "too strenuous a



striving after the unification of knowledge," which has misled him, and vitiated even those contributions of his which are real and fruitful. Herr Grosse's criticism of Mr Spencer's reconciliation of religion and science consists mainly in an opinion of Mr Gladstone's, to which he gives no reference, and which we cannot verify. "Gladstone urtheilte über die Versöhnung zwischen Religion und Wissenschaft wie sie in den 'First Principles' gelehrt wird, sie sei gleich der Theilung eines Hauses, bei der die eine Partei die innere, und die andere Partei die äussere Seite erhalte; und diese Kritik ist in der That ebenso treffend als geistreich." On the book as a whole, we may say that we know nothing more valuable, more clear in its exposition, or more drastic in its criticism, than what Herr Grosse has given us in this little book. It does not extend beyond 119 pages, but each page is significant.

JAMES IVERACH.

Church and State.

A Historical Handbook. By A. Taylor Innes, Advocate, author of "The Law of Creeds in Scotland." Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1890.

THE exact aim of this book may be best stated in the introductory words:—

"The two most celebrated forms of association in history have been known by the names of the State and the Church. This volume does not attempt to enter upon either of these great fields, the literature of which has been enormous. It deals exclusively with the relation between the two societies, their points of contact, collision, junction, and intersection. Even this intermediate field is vast; and it may be approached in two ways. On the theoretical side, the doctrinal and logical aspects of this relation have always had a fascination for thinking men, and the conflict of principles upon it fills many libraries. On the historical side it has moulded our modern civilisation, and 'the whole life and character of Western Christendom consists of the incessant action and counteraction of Church and State' (Ranke). It is necessary, therefore, to select a line of treatment. In these pages the question will be traced historically, and in the chronological order in which it has unfolded itself to the world."

Much was to be expected from the choice of such a method by

such an author. Mr Innes was already "passed master" in this peculiar region. His former treatise within a more strictly professional department of it, "The Law of Creeds in Scotland," is the standard book of its kind, and has long since won him the reputation of being among the foremost of living authorities on such topics. This new excursion exceeds expectation. Most writings on such themes have hitherto taken the form of ecclesiastical or political pamphleteering. Nothing can be more entirely the opposite than this learned and impartial digest—a piece of work without a parallel in our literature. The entire map of European civilisation is unrolled from the introduction of Christianity down to the present day. The line formed on this map by the intersection of the two societies is traced with microscopic exactness, yet with continuous grasp from first to last. Not a decision of Church council or State enactment, not a single movement of princes or people, not an utterance of divine, statesman, or *litterateur* bearing with any significance on the question is omitted at any period through the long contest—and all set down in proper perspective and proportion. Even those who are not entire strangers to the subject will be surprised to find how much there is in it. One closes the book impressed with the intensity and persistence with which the adjustment of the relation between civil and ecclesiastical society has been pursued in every Christian century and almost every decade down to that which we are just closing. Our author, by his encyclopædic knowledge of the facts, his mastery of principles, his pellucid style, his charm of expression, enables one to trace the evolution of this intricate question with an ease which is fascinating.

No doubt it is pre-eminently a case where it is hard to see the wood for trees. And one would often like to take the writer by the button, stop his eloquent tale, and ask him to tell us candidly what he thinks of it all himself—whether he would not supply us with some large and easily apprehended generalisation with which we could pass ourselves off as *au fait* on the whole theme. Doubtless he knows better, and has wisely resisted the temptation to attempt any such impossibility. One who can wear all the weight of learning, here implied, so gracefully, knows too much to commit himself to any cut and dry formula or partisan solution of this problem of the ages. The book is very far from being the work of a colourless mind. Amid all his judicial candour the author holds his own opinion subtly in solution. In the case of his earlier treatise, this peculiarity had the curious effect of inducing extreme Erastians, like the late Dean Stanley, to quote with approval what those who could read between the lines saw to be really a refutation of their views. The peculiarity mildly persists. Time has toned down a certain earlier fondness for paradoxical statement. Firm histori-

cal judgment is conspicuous in the present work. Yet if its firmness ever seems for a moment to become harshness, it is towards those whom the author might by outsiders be expected to favour. For instance, the Westminster Confession does no doubt halt "between two inconsistent views" of religious liberty, or, at least, views not at that time harmonised. Yet, is the closing paragraph of the noble chapter on Christian liberty so "plainly pernicious" as our author asserts? That civil society, so long as it is sane, will always maintain its right to suppress opinions and practices "contrary to the light of nature" is certain. One whose opinion is entitled to weight in this region—Dr Mitchell of St Andrews—does not see how the paragraph could well affirm less than it does, "if an unlimited toleration of all teaching, however blasphemous, and of all practices, however revolting, is not to be openly proclaimed."¹ No doubt there are clauses in it which might be construed into a call on the civil arm to enforce those religious opinions which the framers held to be alone Christian. But in recording this otherwise tolerant and high-minded statement as a moment in the solution of the Church and State question, should it not have been noted that the doubtful paragraph so characterised was the one in this chapter through which the English Parliament drew its pen in adopting the Confession?

The method of treatment announced at the outset is adhered to throughout. From the first paragraph to the last it is strictly historical. A certain abstract or speculative interest, however, pervades the history—an interest which, though the author had resolved to expel it as with a fork, must recur. For the problem will not allow itself to be mathematically defined as one of mere intersection of the boundaries of two organisations or societies. Its deeper form is that of the progressive influence of Christianity upon the civilisation in which it inheres. In the degree in which true toleration has been won in the various Christian nations, the result has been due not to religious indifference, but to the most finely sifted and intensely ardent Christian belief—glowing with the charity which is its highest fruit. It has been, that is to say, the triumph of a law or principle which is distinctively Christian. Again, where the relations of Church and State have been most successfully and peacefully adjusted, we have really the supremacy of a particular form of the Christian religion. With evident admiration and in more than usual detail, Mr Innes gives (pp. 196-202) the adjustment which has prevailed in the United States since the Declaration of Independence, and which has secured a remarkable peace on Church and State questions there for more than a century. Is not this due to the application of Christian principles to the question in that

¹ "Minutes of the Westminster Assembly," Introduction, p. lxx.

specially favourable form in which these were planted in the New World? Is it not, in short, the legislative and constitutional embodiment of the Protestant religion in that special form which American Christianity has developed? This underlying question of what Liberalism and Constitutionalism owe to Christianity—how far, indeed, they are simply the application of Christian principles to States and their government—shines through all the long contest here described. In the earlier part of the history it receives more express prominence. In the later it is obscured by the crowded state of the canvas, rather than by any suppression of it in the author's intention. And how, at any moment, the simple, bare question may come to the front, he shows us in his closing paragraphs. When the State and the Church alike shall become the *demos*—when there shall be not King and Parliament on the one side, Synod and Council on the other, but when Church and State shall mean simply the same persons in diverse relations and in varying proportions—the whole issue may turn upon a grandly simple application of the principles which this age-long controversy has exemplified and ripened.

From the publisher's point of view the book is another instance, surpassing even its predecessors, of the quantity of valuable and original literature which this series of Bible Class Hand-books puts within reach of students at the most modest outlay on the part of the purchaser.

JOHN LAIDLAW.

St Paul: His Life and Times.

By James Iverach, M.A. London: James Nisbet & Co.

THIS recent addition to the "Men of the Bible Series" is welcome as another attempt to aid the public in doing justice to the Apostle Paul by reading his teaching in living relation to his life. As compared with Dr Stalker's brilliant sketch, it uses its 216 closely-printed pages to enter into more detail, with some gains if also with some loss in general effect.

In his general attitude, it is doubtful whether the author has hit the happy mean of giving their dues to the "psychological" and "supernatural" aspects of Paulinism in general, and of its initial fact—the conversion—in particular. No doubt a reaction was needed against the critical dogmatism which has confidently pronounced on the "kicking against the goad," and sought the key to Paul's case in "a feeling of compunction." But the remark that the phrase "need mean no more than that his opposition to the Christian cause would be of no avail," might have carried more with it, if it had been the outcome of a careful analysis of the known conditions, internal and external, of Paul's history. Instead of this, our author says (p. 5),

"We need not enter at any length into a discussion of the kind of learning he obtained in the school of Gamaliel, nor say anything either of the views which obtained there, or of the methods by which they were attained and defended." This leaves a certain vagueness in the description of "his religious experience as a Pharisee" (pp. 10, 11), though it also contains many true things (e.g., "He lived at high pressure").

Among the points well emphasized in the book are the significance of Stephen, in whom the Christian principle and the Jewish principle are seen in conflict; the "Barnabas" disposition, its strength and weakness (pp. 37-8, 41-2); Paul's situation at Athens; the frank recognition of the apostle's haste before the Sanhedrin; and in general, though with some qualification, the questions centring in the Epistle to the Galatians. In matters of exegesis our author as a rule carries conviction, pp. 119, (? the Jews the aggressors, so Schürer ii. 263), 130 (where *ἐστίν* is forced), 139 (surely *κατ' ἄνθρωπον* in 1 Cor. xv. 32 = *ἀνθρώπινον λέγω*, Rom. vi. 19), being slight exceptions.

In the Higher Criticism the author omits (p. 45) to account for the absence of the journey to Jerusalem (Acts xi. 30, xii. 25) from the catalogue in Galatians, which claims to be, in some sense at least, exhaustive. We notice, too, that he says the Roman Church was probably founded by Paul's disciples and converts (p. 191); that he does not refer to the "encyclical" theory of Ephesians as explaining the lack of personal allusions, nor to Lightfoot's view that Philippians is not the last of the captivity group. Also, whilst he temperately discusses the Pastoral Epistles, he makes too little, perhaps, of the theological developments, "the separation of doctrine and ethics, the notion of the Church, tradition, and apostolic succession," which weigh so much with critics like Sabatier.

As regards the chapter on "Pauline Theology," the most cardinal point—the determinative and supreme place of Christ in Paul's thought as in his life—is admirably grasped. We should have welcomed indeed more than he has attempted. "It is a task which might easily be accomplished," he says, "to place all the distinctive teaching of the apostle in due relation to this leading thought. All his significant words and phrases . . . fall into rank, order, and due subordination in the light of the doctrine of the Person of Christ. . . . Take the doctrine, or the words in which the apostle states his doctrine, out of this relation, and they easily become untrue." We wish he had devoted a page or two to doing this on the basis of a synopsis like that of Reuss or Sabatier. The underlying simplicity of Paulinism would thus have been made more apparent. Further, while we agree with him in the emphasis with which he speaks of "Paul the disciple, Christ the Master," and think this true to Paul and

true to fact, we are not so sure that due account is taken of the more metaphysical form in which the Christ of the apostle's religious experience appears in some of the later epistles. "Evidently to the apostle himself," he says, "the fuller statement was no speculative deduction, nor was a statement of fact revealed to him. . . . For the Pauline view of Christ is in no way the product of speculation. It is rooted in history." Rooted in history, doubtless, but Paul's mind had a Pharisaic stage ere his conversion. Rabbinical training had not only its own exegesis and dialectics, but also its metaphysic. Are we to regard this latter as gradually transformed, as the rest of his being was, by the revelation of God's Son, while yet forming the historic point of departure? Or are we to regard the Pauline categories as throughout directly revealed, as Christ was revealed as Lord on the road to Damascus? Is there in this latter sense a system of revealed metaphysics? Our author's insistence upon the fact that Paul was apostle or missionary before theologian indicates a view which has an important bearing on the question, though that view is not expressed at length.

Two queries suggest themselves in closing our study of this book. Were the *Jerusalem* Hellenists liberal-minded? Sabatier gives good reasons for judging them zealous amid pure Jews to establish a character for strict orthodoxy. Again, what are we to infer from the absence of recorded effort on the part of James and the Jerusalem Church on behalf of Paul when he was in trouble through acting on their advice? The book indeed suggests a variety of questions, and sets one thinking on many points in the life and work of the great apostle. It is a serious attempt to wed in the mind of the Christian public "true religion and sound learning."

VERNON BARTLET.

After the Exile. A Hundred Years of Jewish History and Literature. Part II. The Coming of Ezra to the Samaritan Schism.

By P. Hay Hunter, Minister of Yester. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, Edinburgh and London. 1890.

C'EST pour nous tous (says a distinguished French orientalist, recently deceased) un devoir de rompre le cercle magique dans lequel nous restons volontairement enfermés; sachons nous concilier le grand public par une bonne et scientifique vulgarisation de nos travaux. Mr Hunter's work is precisely *une bonne et scientifique vulgarisation* of recent research in regard to one of the most important periods of Jewish history. The fragmentary character of the documentary authorities and the arbitrary way in which they

have been treated by the Chronicler are rightly emphasised, and we have to thank Mr Hunter not only for what he has given us, but for what he has not attempted to give us. The second volume opens with the arrival at Jerusalem of Ezra and the party under his leadership, in the year 459 B.C., and presents us with a clear and animated—if, at times, slightly diffuse—account of the varying fortunes of the Jewish colony during the next thirty years. Mr Hunter's is the pen of a ready writer, and can with equal effect describe a scene or sketch a character. Witness the graphic description of Ezra's grief in the opening chapter, and the sympathetic portrait of Nehemiah in chapter five.

While rightly maintaining his independence of judgment in matters of detail, the author is in sympathy, in the main, with the newer school of Old Testament criticism. The "Deuteronomic Code, either in whole or in part," continued to be "the sole statute book of the community of the second temple," till Ezra "brought with him from Babylon the so-called priestly code." We have hitherto had too much *destructive*, and too little *constructive*, criticism; this is why a work like the present is so eminently seasonable. As a specimen of this constructive criticism, I would point to the chapter—one of the best in the book—entitled "Idyll and Allegory," in which the reader will find a discussion, admirable alike for its freshness and its boldness, of the books of Ruth and Jonah. There are not a few things in this chapter, as there are throughout the book, to which exception may justly be taken, but, as a careful and attractive study of an eventful and difficult period, Mr Hunter's volumes deserve to be welcomed both by the general public and the smaller circle of Old Testament scholars.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

Some Volumes of Sermons.

MESSRS MACMILLAN have published this summer a number of volumes of sermons and addresses upon pastoral work. Among these are nineteen sermons under the title of *STONES FROM THE QUARRY*, by the Rev. Robert Vaughan, Curate-in-charge of St Mary's, South Shields. Mr Vaughan's sermons are upon some essentials of Religion and Theology, the meaning of the sufferings of Christ, The Resurrection Body, Our Saviour's Advent, Economy in Revelation, and some elements of the Christian Life. They are written in a quiet, restrained style: they are short: they are always thoughtful and suggestive: some of them are fresh contributions to the treatment of their subjects: but—whether from their narrow limits (they average about ten small pages) or from some other cause—few of them give us a complete study of its theme. We do not care so much for the opening ones

on Spirit in Matter, and the nature of "Our God," &c. They strike us as vague. But those on the sufferings of Christ are fresh and true, and we are persuaded that in this line Mr Vaughan has something to tell his age in a form less confined than the Anglican parish-sermon. On the cry from the cross, "My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken?" he remarks that our Lord's feeling of forsakenness "did not arise from the Father's imputation of the world's wickedness to His innocent Son; nor from Christ imagining Himself to be guilty for the sins which others committed; and yet it came from the sin of the world. . . . The sin of the world caused the world to account Him the sinner of sinners; the sin of the world induced men to take and with wicked hands to crucify and slay the Holy and the Just One: and it was thus the sin of the world which caused that deep sense of desertion to seize the soul of Christ." He had been abandoned by those He had come to speak to from God. Their sin had made them desert Him, mock Him, crucify Him. Mr Vaughan is very fine in Sermon VI., on the Moral Nature of Christ's Sufferings.—*THE COUNTRY CLERGYMAN AND HIS WORK* is six lectures on Pastoral Theology, delivered in the Divinity School, Cambridge, in 1889, by the Rev. Herbert James, M.A., Rector of Livermere, Suffolk. He speaks with experience and authority on the Country Clergyman's Field, Preaching, Visiting, Educational Work, Parochial Organisation, and Influence.—*FOR CHRIST AND CITY* is a volume from the other side of the work of the Church of England. It consists of "Liverpool Sermons and Addresses," by Charles William Stubbs, Rector of Wavertree, the well-known author of "Christ and Democracy." It is a manly, lucid exposition of the social principles of Christianity, with texts and illustrations drawn from events and institutions in the life of Liverpool. The sermon on the Social Creed of the Church is instructive and stimulating. Its key-note is a phrase borrowed from the Lambeth Encyclical on Socialism—"not charity but social duty." In "The English Church and Historic Continuity," Mr Stubbs follows the late Bishop of Durham in making his ideal of Church "a holy season extending all the year round—a temple confined only by the limits of the habitable world—a priesthood coextensive with the human race;" and in accepting the threefold ministry, the consecrated place, the episcopal succession, &c., as but "practical expedients." In Church Comprehension and Reform, Mr Stubbs pleads for a reform of the constitution of the Church which will give the laity the same power in her government as exists for them in the Presbyterian Church: and for greater power to the Bishops to remove inefficient clergy. The volume closes with A Pastoral Letter, which, describing as it does work in a large English parish, ought to prove a strong example to our own generation, and to succeeding ones a historical document of great value.

Along with these volumes come from Messrs Macmillan four volumes of their re-issue of Charles Kingsley's Sermons :—Sermons for the Times ; The Water of Life ; Village, Town, and Country Sermons (in one volume) ; and National Sermons. It is interesting to note that the first three sets of these have reached from a seventh to a ninth edition. The Sermons on National Subjects, containing the Sermons on the Cholera, and first printed as a whole in 1880, are in their third edition.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

Messrs Eyre & Spottiswoode's Publications.

THE HOLY BIBLE. *Authorised Version. Brevier 8vo, Marg. Ref. With the Queen's Printers' "Aids to the Study of the Holy Bible, with which is incorporated the Appendix of 1877."*

THE VARIORUM TEACHER'S EDITION OF THE HOLY BIBLE.

THE VARIORUM REFERENCE EDITION OF THE HOLY BIBLE.

THE TEACHER'S PRAYER-BOOK : BEING THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, WITH INTRODUCTIONS, ANALYSES, NOTES, AND A COMMENTARY UPON THE PSALTER. *By the Most Rev. Alfred Barry, D.D., Bishop of Sydney, and Metropolitan Primate of Australia and Tasmania ; and a Glossary by the Rev. A. L. Mayhew, M.A.*

THE PSALTER, WITH INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY FROM THE "TEACHER'S PRAYER-BOOK." *By the Right Rev. Alfred Barry, D.D., Assistant-Bishop in Diocese of Rochester ; late Bishop of Sydney, and Metropolitan Primate of Australia and Tasmania.*

It is not necessary at this date to say much in commendation of the various editions of the Bible which are published by the Messrs Eyre & Spottiswoode. The Queen's Printers' editions have made their way into general recognition, and they have deserved to do so. It would be difficult to surpass them in all the qualities that go to make the best combination of the useful and the beautiful. The brevier octavo edition of the Authorised is in point of type, paper, and binding all that one could well desire ; while the Appendix, which contains the *Aids*, places at the reader's disposal a wealth of information admirably arranged and thoroughly reliable. The two editions of the *Variorum* Bible give what cannot be got elsewhere in the same form. The one prepared for the special needs of teachers contains both the *Aids* and the *Various Renderings and Readings*. The other, the Reference edition, gives the *Renderings and Readings*, and a valuable indexed Atlas. These are new and revised issues of the *Variorum* Bible. The first edition of this Bible supplied a long felt want, and left everything else of the kind a long way behind it. The present edition is

materially improved in type, in arrangement, and in matter. The amount of toil represented by the footnotes is enormous. They are drawn from the writings of sixty-nine interpreters of the Old Testament and seventy-three of the New. They have been most carefully prepared through many years of assiduous application by scholars of the highest reputation. They show at a glance how it stands with every sentence of Holy Scripture in which either reading or rendering is in any degree disputable or uncertain. It is an edition which one should always have at hand. There is none to compete with it. The *Teacher's Prayer-Book* and the *Psalter* are not inferior to these admirable editions of the Bible in beauty of form. The former is already in its second edition. The Introduction and Notes attempt nothing original, but give a very good statement of the main questions relating to the origin and principles of the Prayer-Book. They necessarily touch on many matters, both historical and doctrinal, which have been keenly controverted, but they do so in a sober spirit. The Commentary on the *Psalter* is conservative in tone, taking little to do with critical questions, and limiting itself to such explanations and remarks as are most congruous to hours of private, devotional study. The version of the Psalms in both these volumes is, of course, that of the "Great Bible" of 1540, a version which, as Dr Barry rightly observes, "seems to lend itself with special appropriateness and beauty to liturgical use." It is, however, less exact than that of 1611, and Dr Barry's Commentary, though it does not pretend to grapple with the great questions which are now in debate on the literary history of the Psalms, their Messianic interpretation and the like, corrects that inexactness in many cases. The Queen's Printers' *Psalter*, in short, is a book to take with us into the closet. Its substance and its form fit it to be the cherished companion of all, and especially of those advanced in life, in hours of devotion.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

The Expositor.

Edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. Fourth Series. Volume I. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

HAVING now entered its fourth series, *The Expositor* may fairly take rank among our old established magazines. It pursues its useful course with vigour. The present volume contains many articles of importance. Where all are good, it is invidious to single out any for particular mention. We need only say that, while there are articles which touch the great questions of scholarship, such as those by the late Bishop Lightfoot and those by Professor Beet, there are others of more general interest, such as Dr Plummer's Recollections

of Dr Döllinger, and the choice tributes paid to the late Dr Delitzsch and the late Dr Hatch by Count Baudissin and Professor Sanday. A reasonable amount of space is given to properly expository papers, like those by Dr Bruce on Hebrews, and Canon Cheyne on the Psalms. It is pleasing, too, to see the practised pen of Dr Samuel Cox writing with the old skill on the favourite themes. The volume takes its place worthily with the many that have preceded it.

The Expository Times.

*Edited by the Rev. James Hastings, M.A. Volume the First.
October 1889 to September 1890. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.*

WE congratulate the energetic Editor on the completion of his first volume. This new magazine has already secured a good place, and it has deserved to do so. A large number of writers of recognised ability have been enlisted in its interest, and it has succeeded in offering from month to month a rich and varied supply of matter. The larger articles are of great value. The shorter notes and papers on matters of interpretation and the like are admirably constructed, and often call attention to novel and interesting expositions of Scripture. Excellent provision is made at the same time for the needs of teachers, young people in the Sabbath school or Bible class, and private students of Scripture. The marvel is that so high a general standard of writing is maintained, and so great a wealth of matter supplied at so modest a cost. The magazine has a place of its own to fill, and we wish it all success.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

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Cardinal Newman.

- CARDINAL NEWMAN. *By Richard H. Hutton. Methuen & Co.*
1891. Pp. 251. 2s. 6d.
- A SHORT LIFE OF CARDINAL NEWMAN. *By J. S. Fletcher. Ward
& Downey.* 1890. Pp. 207. 2s. 6d.
- JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, THE FOUNDER OF MODERN ANGLICANISM,
AND A CARDINAL OF THE ROMAN CHURCH. *By Wilfrid
Meynell. Kegan Paul & Co.* 1890. Pp. 116. 2s. 6d.
- CARDINAL NEWMAN: A MONOGRAPH. *By John Oldcastle. John
Sinkins.* Pp. 76. 1s. 6d.
- PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF CARDINAL NEWMAN. *By Arthur W.
Hutton, M.A. "Expositor," September, October, November,
1890.*

THESE books and sketches are of various grades of literary merit, though some of them can hardly be classed as literature at all. Mr R. H. Hutton's is, of course, a serious study of the mind and art of a great writer, an attempt at a critical analysis and estimate of a "leader of religion," by one who is discerning rather than discriminative, and who, as a consequence, exercises his literary rather than his judicial faculty. His work is without perspective, and so without proportion; he judges blindly, as one who knows and admires to the uttermost, but also as one who has either forgotten or never known the canons or standards by which his author, as thinker or theologian, must be measured. Not that his criticism is silent—here and there he is critical enough; but it is more the criticism of the intelligent than of the informed, of the man of letters rather than the man of science. Mr Fletcher's book is a hasty but handy compilation, by no means accurate or orderly, with no pretence at criticism or literary appraisal, but well adapted to the needs of those who like to know just enough to keep them from being altogether ignorant. Mr Wilfrid Meynell is John Oldcastle, and the two books like the two authors are not two but one, only with an occasional difference in tone and words correspondent to the difference between the pseudonymous and the avowed author.

ship. The book is graphic, now and then extravagant, being written in the manner of the pressman or bookmaker, though animated by a somewhat higher purpose than inspires him who must produce simply so much lively copy. Mr. A. W. Hutton's contributions to the Newman literature are well characterised by their title; they are "personal reminiscences," interesting as such, vivid, and affording an instructive glimpse of the man as he seemed to one who passed through the phases of convert, disciple, brother, and shall we say pervert or revert? Mr R. H. Hutton's book is a study of Newman through and in his works; Mr A. W. Hutton's articles are a study of him as a man, the Father of a Brotherhood; the other books are only second-hand productions, and as such mixed, fragmentary, external, useful only to those who wish to read while they run.

These books may stand as an illustration of the extraordinary fascination exercised by Newman over the most dissimilar minds. No man in our century has been more intensely hated or more passionately loved, and the hate and the love have, each in its own way, tended to obscure or benumb the judgment. What is curious is that in spite of his changes and the invincible logic by which they were worked, his power remained specifically Anglican, never became distinctively Roman. While his influence outside his own communion was immense, inside it was but small, at least till within a few years of the end, and even then it was due less to its intrinsic force than to his extrinsic reputation; the honour then done him was an act of homage to the honour in which he was held by those who were without. He was happy in the home he had made for himself, but he was so potent as to be a real and effectual presence only in the home he had left. The men with whom he had real affinity, and for whom he entertained true affection were for the most part the friends of his Anglican period, the men who had either accompanied him to Rome, or who only loved him the more that they had lost him. Of all his economies there was nothing in which he was so economical, in all senses of the term, as in his friendships. The hold he had upon men he had really loved, or who had once really loved him, was marvellous. Even a man so superficially cynical, but so really sensitive and emo-

tional as the late Mark Pattison, continued true to his early reverence and love for Newman, however much he might indulge his sharp tongue or sharper pen in jibes at Newman's expense. No man, indeed, could be a better hater, or be more disdainful in speech or conduct, even when the provocative cause was imperfect sympathy rather than positive aversion; but when he loved, no man could be more delicately tender or gracefully affectionate, as all his many dedications and some of his published letters amply prove.

The secret of Newman's power is difficult of analysis, though its more obvious sources are patent enough. His intense sincerity, the depth and strength of his religious nature, the very limitations of his intellect, which made him as little able to understand a heresy as to tolerate a heretic, the rigour of his conscience and the splendour of his imagination, the qualities that made him a poet, disguised now as a preacher who searched the heart and now as a theologian who studied the Fathers, and above all, his unsurpassed literary genius,—were all elements contributory to his commanding influence. Its quality is defined as much by its limitations as by its range and strength; for it is truer in his than in any other modern case, that while he powerfully commanded he also deeply offended, and the offended were often, to say the least, the moral and intellectual equals of the commanded. Yet neither in their respective attitudes could ever become quite intelligible to the other. So long as the question was spiritual,—a searching of the secret man within the breast, a rebuking of the meaner self, a holding up of the mirror to the baser nature so as to show not only its actual state, but the possible depths to which it might descend,—he possessed unrivalled power which perhaps all but a very few could feel. But when it became either a question of the higher ethics or the higher reason, of the ideals that were needed to regulate life and the fields in which our activities ought to be exercised, of the relation of truth to the intellect, and of the intellect to truth, and of the methods the intellect must follow to seek and find the truth—then the differences emerged that made Newman's argumentation seem to many as violent and artificial as their attitude seemed to him insolent and impious. No mind of a

high order has lived in our day with less sympathy with the day in which it lived than Newman's; and to this deficiency much of his power, rising over many minds to supremacy, was largely due. I very much doubt if there is anywhere so remarkable an instance of a mind which did not know the deepest intellectual problems of his age concerning religion, as his age knew them, being still able to exercise, if not over, yet within his age, so transcendent a religious and intellectual influence. For it is hardly possible to state the matter too strongly. There is no evidence anywhere in his writings that he ever conceived the mind opposed to him to be other on its intellectual side than the eighteenth century mind. He looked through the eyes of Butler on an age that reasoned from the premisses of Locke, or his immediate successors. He knew neither the new scientific temper and the reasoned Agnosticism which is its consequence, nor the transcendental criticism which is its antithesis. He never either at the beginning or at any point in his career showed that he understood, or had come face to face with, or even conceived the purport of the specifically modern questions in historical criticism, whether as touching the Scriptures or the Church in its apostolic and sub-apostolic periods. But this failure to apprehend the radical problems of the age seriously affected the character and worth of his message to it. It accounts for what many feel to be the irrelevance and ineffectiveness of his apologetic work; it accounts still more for the deep offence many have taken at the way in which his dexterous dialectic has trifled with their difficulties and mocked their honest perplexities. But it is significant most of all of the worth of the mental processes which carried him to his conclusion. The researches that were conducted in what can only be described as a mental twilight could hardly lead to discoveries that can bear the penetrating light of day.

There is indeed, and has long been, as Mr A. W. Hutton says, "a mythical Newman, just as in High Anglican circles there is also a mythical Keble and a mythical Pusey." This is true, with a difference. In Keble and Pusey's case the mythology has been a natural creation, the product as it were of the fond and worshipful imagination of disciples; but in Newman's case he himself has been directly, though without conscious purpose,

the main factor in the mythical process. For here, as perhaps in no instance in our whole literary history, a man has in his own lifetime determined alike the standpoint from which he must be studied, and the terms in which he is to be interpreted, if he is to be studied and interpreted at all. The Newman of the *Apologia* is the one Newman known to this generation. Now, the reality, the sincerity, in a sense the veracity of the book or its author no man can question ; it is a picture of the artist painted by himself, not simply of himself as he then saw himself to be, but of a series of successive selves as they lived in memory, illumined, coloured, qualified by the light of the present. The work is no less a work of imagination that it was meant to be a piece of scrupulously veracious autobiography ; the past it reveals is a past that lived to an imagination which did not and could not cease to be constructive by becoming retrospective or reminiscent. The man was a poet and could not deal with himself other than poetically. His life had been full of tragic incidents and elements, and he could not be, and was not, unconscious of the tragedy. It was a life full of struggle, of passion, of violent changes that had come of resistance to change, that in meeting revolution had generated forces that created revolutions, and he could not pass through his imagination the life, even though it was his own, which had been the cause and condition of so many conflicts and so much movement without investing it with something of an epic dignity. And so the "mythical Newman" is Newman in the heroic mood or epical setting of the *Apologia*, the central figure in our greatest modern religious drama living all unconscious of his great destiny, yet acting, even when he is most blind, as one destined to high deeds. But Newman can never be understood if read in and through the *Apologia* alone ; he has many sides, but must be studied from all. The hymns show him under another and no less noble aspect ; so does the pulpit of St Mary's, so does Littlemore, so does his action on men, expressive as it is of the meeting in him of centrifugal and centripetal forces of almost equal strength. But quite as significant of him and of his temper and quality are his tracts, his controversial treatises, his use of authorities, his methods of warfare, his

dealings with opponents and with the weapons he employed, whether to secure victory or discover or defend the truth. Only the man who has studied Newman along those varied lines and under these varied lights can be said to know Newman, and the Newman he knows will be still the Newman of the *Apologia*, but as turned into flesh and blood, and set in a scene which allows him to be judged as he really lived, thought, and acted. The man seen in true perspective will appear in his real proportions.

Now, as was said above, both the perspective and the proportion are absent from Mr R. H. Hutton's book. It is a fine example of Newman's subduing influence on a mind of rare independence and critical insight; and it is from this point of view that it is really instructive and helpful to a knowledge of Newman. But in other respects it is much less significant, and is abundantly mistaken in many of its judgments. His estimate of *The Arians of the fourth century* can only be characterised as absurd. The book is not in the proper sense a history at all; it is only an overgrown polemical pamphlet. One rubs one's eyes at a statement like this: "Newman was the first to deny that Arianism was of Alexandrian origin, and to maintain what scholars now generally admit, that it originated in Antioch." Why, the relation of the schools of Alexandria and Antioch to Arius was a commonplace of *Dogmengeschichte*, and Arius' own words were too explicit to admit of much doubt as to the source of his doctrine, which he always maintained to be one he had received, and not of his own invention. But scholars were always careful to indicate what is the historical truth that Arius had Alexandrian as well as Antiochean antecedents, though the antecedents were in each case of a different character. As to Newman's book as a whole it may be said he was writing of the fourth but thinking of the nineteenth century; he could not see the one because he was so possessed by the other; his desire to teach, warn, or reprove the moderns made him unjust to the ancients. The History and the Translation of Athanasius' Orations, with the explanatory notes, ought to be read together in order to show how unhistorical was the cast of Newman's mind, and how perverse he

was as an interpreter. From the book it is easier to know Newman than to understand the men and movements he treated of.

Mr Hutton's chapter on "Newman's Alleged Scepticism" is a remarkable instance of his missing the only point really in dispute. He quotes Huxley's famous saying about the ease with which a "Primer of Infidelity" could be extracted from certain works of Newman, and easily makes out a case in favour of Newman's scientific caution in the matter of "Ecclesiastical Miracles," though it may be added his victory over Huxley is too easy to be complete. He is a long way from getting to the root even of this matter in Newman's mind. But the case he makes out has nothing to do with the real question; *that* is much more radical and determinative than a point or method in historical proof. It is nothing less than the old question as to the bases of belief; in the strict sense of the term Newman was a philosophical sceptic, and his philosophical scepticism determined his quest after authority, with all its inevitable results. He himself tells us that he owed two principles to Butler, viz., the supremacy of conscience and the doctrine that probability is the guide of life; but these two principles are contrary the one to the other; if conscience be supreme, probability is not the guide of life; where the categorical imperative commands, probability can never hold rightful sway. Butler's doctrine of conscience was his own, and in its essence transcendental; but his doctrine of probability was Locke's, and in its nature and basis empirical. In Butler's own case as in Newman's, the conflict of the principles was attended with a search for a system that would strengthen the authoritative principle over against the critical. On a basis of probability it is impossible to build absolute certainty of belief; but where the religious faculty is the conscience, with its categorical imperative, it is not possible to be satisfied with less than absolute certainty. Hence Newman was ever representing the reason as inimical to the belief in God, while the conscience made him as sure of God's being as he was of his own. He could not allow proof and conviction to be proportional to each other—had they been in his own case he could never have

attained certitude ; but he was ever seeking in a special disposition, or an ethical temper, or a dictum of the conscience, to obtain what would secure a result impossible to any process or method of rational proof. His argument for authority was precisely the one Hume would have employed if along with his own philosophy he had held Newman's doctrine of conscience, and had as a consequence possessed his belief in God and his idea of the nature of religion, and their arguments would have been identical, because their philosophies were alike sceptical, and a sceptic in philosophy, in order to faith, must ever in the last resort invoke an external infallible authority that shall in this region silence or supersede his reason. To speak with Newman, he becomes a Catholic because he was a theist, and could find no standing ground between Catholicism and Atheism. Precisely so, that is the argument and conclusion of pure philosophical scepticism within the sphere of religious belief.

On one other point I would have liked to deal with Mr Hutton's book—his estimate of Newman's "Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine." Here he loses himself in simple extravagance. Newman's idea of development is not the anticipation but the converse and contradiction of Darwin's. The one is biological, the other is logical ; the one is a theory as to the development of the organism, the other of development by the organism. Darwin's is essentially an hypothesis as to the process of creation, though it be but of the creational mode ; but Newman's is essentially an hypothesis as to a process of agglutination, governed and conducted throughout by the authority and will of the subject. To Darwin the organism is a creation, but to Newman it is the creator. In the one case, the organism is studied in and through its environment, because it is from the interaction of the two that new energies, organs, species, are developed ; in the other case, the organism is studied, if not in isolation, yet in a connection that means that the environment has no place and no function save such as the organism chooses to give it. In other words, Newman's is no theory of development in the scientific sense at all, for what is assumed as necessary to its very being—control under the eye of authority—is precisely

one of the things a scientific theory would feel most bound to explain. But as little can we allow Mr Hutton's claim that the theory "demonstrates that Newman's genius" had "so deep an insight into the generating thoughts which are transforming the present and moulding the future." He had indeed genius, but hardly of this kind, though of a kind quite as remarkable. The theory on the field of history was by no means new. The germs of it could be found in perhaps the most illustrious Jesuit of the seventeenth century—Petavius. The application of it had been made by Moehler, while a far more scientific theory, indeed specifically Darwinian in its character, had, fifteen years before Newman's essay was written, been formulated by Baur, and applied in an historical spirit and method, such as Newman never showed the faintest approach to, to the interpretation alike of dogma and the Church. And so we must conclude that Mr Hutton's book, while an interesting study by a sympathetic admirer of Newman's mind and influence, has no claim to be considered an historical and scientific criticism of the man and his work. The time has perhaps not yet come when the last word on the subject can be spoken, but certainly that word is still to speak.

A. M. FAIRBAIRN.

**George Buchanan, Humanist and Reformer.
A Biography.**

By P. Hume Brown. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1890.
Pp. 388. Demy 8vo. Price 12s.

GEORGE BUCHANAN is one of the very greatest of Scotsmen. No one, indeed, at the present day would subscribe to the statement of Dr Johnson, when he declared to Boswell that Buchanan "was the only man of genius his country ever produced." But, apart from all such exaggeration, George Buchanan has many claims on the esteem and admiration of his countrymen. Both as a "Humanist" and a "Reformer" he holds a very distinguished place. In the former capacity, indeed, that of a man of letters and a fosterer of learning, he

stands alone. No Scottish scholar of the age in which he lived possessed such a European reputation as did Buchanan ; and besides his great erudition, which, wide as he proved it to be, was doubtless surpassed by that of Casaubon and the younger Scaliger, he was universally admitted to rise above all his contemporaries as "a great poetical genius;" while Dr Johnson himself generously admitted that, in addition to the special services he rendered to Scotland, "he had spread the spirit of learning amongst us (the English), but we had lost it during the civil wars."

An evil fate, however, has pursued the memory of Buchanan. The close relation in which he stood to Mary, and the part he had at last to play in exposing the guilt of that unhappy queen, have roused party spirit against him to an extent which is hardly credible, and led to the outpouring upon his head of the most virulent abuse and misrepresentation. Thus Whitaker, in his "*Vindication of Mary*" (i. 190), refers to him as "the ever-slandering Buchanan," while Chalmers, in his life of the queen, speaks of "that greatest of liars, Buchanan" (ii. 177); and these are only specimens of the sort of language in which the partisans of Mary have been accustomed to indulge regarding him. Even Ruddiman, who did such excellent service in connection with the works of Buchanan, when constrained to allow that he did *not*, as had been industriously reported, express on his death-bed regret for what he had written respecting the queen, shows his hostility towards the man by adding ("*Animadversions*," p. 13), "But alas! what will his great admirers gain by that concession? Only this, that they make him die a hardened and impenitent sinner; and rather than his reputation, or more truly that of their own cause, should suffer in this world, they choose to let him drop into hell in the next." Such language would hardly be ventured upon at the present day. But the same spirit of bitterness against Buchanan still continues to be shown by some recent defenders of Mary. Thus, Mr Hosack, in his work entitled, "*Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers*," says of Buchanan in one passage (ii. 249), that "first the sycophant, and then the slanderer of his sovereign, his pen was ever at the service of the highest bidder." This of a man, who, it is well

known, did not leave sufficient money with which to bury him!

In another, and very different way, the memory of Buchanan has also grievously suffered. Owing perhaps to some traditions of that grim and caustic humour which he undoubtedly possessed, he came to be regarded by the common people of Scotland as having been a kind of king's fool at the Court of James VI. We remember to have seen in our young days a chap-book lying about in farm-houses with the title, "The witty and entertaining exploits of George Buchanan, commonly called the King's Fool." It was a small collection of the most contemptible stories, full of the coarsest buffoonery. They served, however, to give an edge at times to rustic wit; and, for lack of anything better or more original, they were quoted as the funny sayings and doings of "Geordie Buwhannan."

In these circumstances, we gladly hail the publication of Mr Hume Brown's scholarly, and, as we trust it will prove, popular biography of our great countryman. The distinctive merit of Mr Brown's book is that he has cleared up many points in the career of Buchanan which have hitherto been involved in obscurity. Dr Irving's "Memoirs" was excellent in its day, and must always be referred to with gratitude and respect. But that book could not make use of materials which were as yet unknown. Mr Brown has, by patient research among the archives of Continental Colleges, brought these to light, and skilfully woven them into the old narrative with which admirers of Buchanan were already familiar.

George Buchanan is distinguished from most other men of letters by the vast amount of incident and vicissitude which entered into his life. Born near Killearn in Stirlingshire in February 1506, he was, at the early age of fourteen, sent by his uncle to the University of Paris. Both with respect to learning and religion, things were then in a very chaotic state in that city. The movement known as the Renaissance continued to be very strenuously opposed, and the University held tenaciously to the obscurantism of the middle ages. The traditional theology was also clung to with the most persistent and persecuting zeal, and the famous Sorbonne resolutely set

itself against every attempt at religious reform. Young Buchanan must have witnessed many strange scenes, and listened to many fiery discussions, during the two years which he then spent in Paris. At the end of that period, and compelled, as it would appear, by poverty, he left France and returned to Scotland. He then betook himself to St Andrews, where, in accordance with the practically international character which then belonged to the Universities of Europe, and which we hope to see restored to them in our own day, the two years he had spent in Paris were allowed to count, and he graduated B.A. in 1525.

Next summer Buchanan followed his old teacher Major to Paris; we know not why, for the prelections of that able but antiquated exponent of mediæval logic and theology were certainly not much to his taste. Two years were spent by him in the Scots College, which had been founded in 1326 by the Bishop of Moray. In the brief sketch of his own life which he wrote, he tells us that these two years passed "in a severe struggle with adverse fortune." This was the familiar experience of students at that period. As Mr Brown writes (p. 49): "The food and accommodation even of the best-endowed colleges were of the most wretched description; in the case of the poorer colleges the fare was not only unwholesome but scanty. The lodging was that of the worst slums in our large cities." But his condition became much improved after he had taken his degree of M.A. in 1528, and thus qualified himself for holding the office of regent (tutor) in a college. For three years he filled such a post in the college of Ste. Barbe, but though he seems there to have exerted a wide influence for good, the dry routine of teaching did not then, or at any subsequent period of his life, commend itself to his liking. "We may fairly conjecture, indeed," says Mr Brown (p. 80), "that under the happiest circumstances the profession of regent or tutor, which he was thenceforth to follow, could never have been grateful to him. It is almost as easy to think of Heine, or Swift, or Burns yoked to this profession, and finding it their true function, as Buchanan. His health was never robust, and by his mental constitution he had the irritability of the poet and man of letters. We

must therefore set it to his credit that, with his late experience behind him, he chose the mode of life he did, when by a little compromise he might have found in the Church some comfortable benefice that would have enabled him to cultivate his muse in peace." But Buchanan was at no time the man to seek for compromises, or to profit by them when others suggested them to his adoption.

Happily he now became engaged as tutor to the Earl of Cassilis, and in 1535 he seems to have returned with that young nobleman to Scotland. It was at this time that he wrote his poem *Somnium*, in which, with Erasmian freedom, he exposed the ignorance and immorality of the Scottish clergy. As to their ignorance, Buchanan tells us, as does Erasmus, that many of them believed that Luther had written the New Testament! Their morals were on an equally low footing, and both furnished ample scope for the pen of a satirist. But it is to be remembered that Buchanan still, and for a long time afterwards, regarded himself as a member of the Church of Rome. And it is greatly to his credit to find him, at this very time when he was so busy in satirizing clerical ignorance and vice, bearing impressive testimony to the excellences which some of the clergy presented even in those evil days. Buchanan had been present at an entertainment given by Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, and he celebrates it in an Epigram, as lofty in tone as it is choice in expression, to the following effect (we use Mr B.'s translation): "Having sat as a guest with Gavin, I envy not the gods their nectar and ambrosia. A feast where was no vain display, but a table chastely and generously furnished, seasoned with talk, now serious, now bright with Attic wit. The guests were equal in number to the Muses, worthy of themselves in doctrine, genius, sympathy, and noble feeling. As Apollo led the choir of the Muses, so our host shone above all by his noble speech. The talk was of the glory of Him who wields the thunder, how He took on Him the burden of our condition, how the Divine nature clothed with man's frail flesh received no stain of sin, how God descended in the form of a servant, yet His mortal covering stripped Him not of His own Divine nature. Each guest is in doubt whether the

school has found its way to the palace, or the palace to the school."

Through the enmity of the Franciscans, Buchanan, along with many others suspected of Lutheranism, was now (1539) thrown into prison, with his life in no small danger. He escaped, however, as he himself tells us in the curtest terms, and we next follow him to England. But, as Henry VIII. was then engaged in impartially burning Papists and Protestants alike, Buchanan felt that England was no place for a man like him, and passed on once more to Paris. Unfortunately, his old enemy Cardinal Beaton was there also; and, to escape his rancour, our persecuted scholar again speedily shifted his abode by accepting a post which was offered him in an important school which had been opened in 1533 at Bordeaux. His residence there is chiefly remarkable for the facts that he had the essayist Montaigne among his pupils, and that he made the acquaintance of the "omniscient swashbuckler" (as Mr Brown happily calls him), Julius Caesar Scaliger. This extraordinary man, who in his lifetime played so many different parts, then resided at Agen, some sixty miles from Bordeaux, and was accustomed, from time to time, to hold a sort of levee of those scholars who lived near enough to gather round him. Among these Buchanan held a distinguished place, and was, as we learn from Scaliger's verses addressed to him, acknowledged by that most arrogant of men to have far outstripped all his contemporaries in the composition of Latin poetry.

After staying at Bordeaux about three years, Buchanan almost disappears from view, until we find him in 1547 acting as a Professor in the Portuguese College of Coimbra. The period of five years which he spent in this place was a strangely chequered one even in his experience. It was a time both of much joy and suffering. On the one hand, it witnessed the production of the greater part of his version of the Psalms, and often must he, while engaged in this elevating work, have felt, like David himself, lifted high above all earthly trials. But, on the other hand, the Jesuits now got him into their toils, and threatened dire vengeance against him for those heretical proclivities which he was supposed to

have evinced. They even went the length of *instructing* him ! He himself tells us that they mingled some respect with their severity, and says in an odd enough passage, " After the inquisitors for a year and a half had worn out his and their own patience, lest they should be supposed to have persecuted to no purpose one not altogether unknown to fame, they shut him up for some months in a monastery, in order that he might be more *accurately instructed by the monks*, who proved indeed neither unkindly nor ill-disposed, though they were utterly ignorant of religious truth." However, he did at length recover his freedom, and finding a Cretan vessel in the port of Lisbon, he set sail in it for England.

But there was still no place of repose for our *vagus Hercules*. England, when Buchanan returned to it in 1552, was not in a condition to furnish a man like him with a safe place of residence. Accordingly, he is soon again on the wing, and in the beginning of 1553 we find him once more in his favourite Paris. And now, after a little while, one of the happiest events in his long and trying career occurred. He was engaged in 1555 by the eminent Maréchal de Brissac as tutor to his son. The Maréchal admitted Buchanan to terms of the most intimate friendship, and held him in the highest respect, while the great scholar, for his part, cherished the warmest feelings of admiration and gratitude towards the illustrious soldier in whose family he lived. We cannot linger over the five peaceful years now enjoyed by Buchanan further than to say that, as he himself tells us, they were devoted mainly to the study of the Bible, and the great religious controversies of the day. He became at length quite decided in his views, and returning to his native land in 1561, he at once joined the Scottish Church of the Reformation. To the honourable name of Humanist, by which he might hitherto have been sufficiently described, he now added that of Reformer, and it is in that double capacity that he henceforth appears before us till his death in 1582.

It is needless to dwell on the history of Buchanan after his return to Scotland, as that is mixed up with the public course of events with which all our readers are familiar. We have preferred rather to devote our brief space to some account of

his Continental experiences as brought before us in Mr Brown's work. We are in full sympathy with the whole tone and spirit of this book. The author has justly appraised Buchanan both as a man and a writer. He has sufficiently vindicated that noble, though somewhat rugged character, which the Humanist and Reformer possessed. He has also set in due prominence those gems of heaven-born poetry which abound in Buchanan. To many of these Mr Brown has appended translations which are creditable both to his taste and talent, though we certainly do not think that of the *Nympha* (p. 148) one of his happiest efforts. But the original, as given on the same page, may well be the despair of any translator.

The most ambitious work of Buchanan is his "*Rerum Scoticarum Historia*," in twenty books. This *History* was received, when published, with the highest eulogies, and continued for a long time to be spoken of with admiration; but, in spite of its stately and energetic style, it has no chance of ever again being widely read. His treatise, "*De jure regni apud Scotos*" (rather undervalued, we think, by Mr Brown), is an extremely able exposition of the principles of constitutional government, and shows, as clearly as has ever been done elsewhere, that *Lex* must always be above *Rex* in the proper ordering of a state. Of the terrible "*Detectio*," in which he laid bare the guilt of Mary, we here say nothing, except that to find its match in power of eloquent invective we must go back to the second Philippic, or the Verrine orations of Cicero.

But, passing by all his other works, it will be by his Latin translation of the Psalms that our great countryman will most certainly have his name transmitted to posterity. His version is a work of genius throughout, and sometimes rises, as in the 104th and 137th Psalms, to surpassing excellence. Unfortunately his prosody is not always equal to his poetry. Here and there he falls into mistakes for which nothing but *incuria* will account. Our great Aberdeen Latinist, Dr Melvin, while full of admiration for Buchanan, and habitually reading him with his more advanced pupils, used to shake his head mournfully over such a quantity as *salūbri*; but

then, again, he was soon extolling as incomparable the lovely dedication to Mary, which begins with these melodious lines :—

“Nympha, Caledoniae quae nunc feliciter orae
Missa per innumeros sceptræ tuæ avos.”

ALEX. ROBERTS.

Die Kosmologie der Babylonier.

By P. Jensen. Strassburg, Trübner. 1890. 8vo, pp. 546. M. 40.

Astronomisches aus Babylon.

*By J. R. Strassmaier and J. Epping. Freiburg, Herder. 1889.
Pp. viii., 190. M. 4.*

THERE is a good deal of difference in the appearance, and still more in the price, of these two books. Dr Jensen's "Kosmologie" is sumptuously printed on large, thick paper, with wide margins, and has been issued at an almost prohibitive price. The work of the two Jesuit Fathers, on the other hand, though clearly printed in the old German type, is compact and handy, and costs only a tenth of the other volume.

Both books are—to use a German expression—"severely scientific" in character. But whereas the "Kosmologie" is purely philological, the larger part of the work we have coupled with it appeals to the astronomer. Both books, however, deal with the same subject-matter, though the Babylonian astronomy with which Messrs Strassmaier and Epping alone concern themselves occupies only the first half of Dr Jensen's work.

It was unfortunate for Dr Jensen that this portion of his book was printed before the appearance of the "Astronomisches aus Babylon." The numerous astronomical tablets of the Seleukid period found in Babylonia, and now in the British Museum, where they have been copied by Dr Strassmaier, have enabled his colleague Dr Epping to restore the astronomical science of ancient Babylonia, and to determine the nature and extent of it, at all events in the third or

second century B.C. He has discovered the Babylonian names of the signs of the zodiac, and finally settled the question of their Chaldean origin; and he has further identified the planets and many of the fixed stars. The problem which Dr Oppert, and subsequently Mr Bosanquet and myself, endeavoured to solve many years ago, with the help of imperfect materials, has now yielded to the epigraphic skill of Dr Strassmaier and the astronomical knowledge of Dr Epping.

The attempt of Dr Jensen to solve the same problem by the assistance of philology alone, was necessarily doomed to discomfiture. It is interesting, therefore, to see in how many cases the scholarship and acumen of the young Danish Assyriologist have enabled him to divine the truth, or, at all events, to approach it very nearly. He has been less successful in identifying the names of the planets than in identifying those of the zodiacal signs. Apart from the sign of the Scorpion, which has been known to Assyriologists since the publication of George Smith's "Assyrian Discoveries" in 1875, several of his identifications have been verified by the researches of Dr Epping. On the other hand, his claim to have corrected identifications proposed by Dr Oppert and myself for the three planets, Mercury, Mars, and Jupiter, turns out to be unfounded. We were right in the case of Mars; and in the case of Jupiter and Mercury he has gone as far astray as ourselves. The names of the other planets were correctly determined by Dr Oppert nearly twenty years ago.

The fact is a very useful commentary on a good deal of the work that has been published of late by the younger Assyriologists, more especially in Germany. They have shown themselves too ready to announce as discoveries what is either not true or not new, and to claim superior scientific exactness for their work on the strength of a new system of transliteration. Doubtless Assyrian research has made great progress during the last ten years, in consequence of the large amount of fresh material that has been examined as well as of the increase in the number of students. But the progress has been for the most part in details only, and in those departments of decipherment in which the older scholars would have been the first to acknowledge that their translations were

merely provisional and tentative. The fact is that the translation of the Assyrian texts is not in a very different stage of advancement from the translation of the Hebrew books of the Old Testament. A considerable portion of the language is now known with certainty, and the majority of the historical texts can be translated with as much ease and accuracy as the historical books of the Hebrew Scriptures. When, however, we come to deal with texts which relate to religious, mythological, or kindred subjects, the case is necessarily altered. Here we meet with new words and expressions, at the meaning of which the decipherer can only guess, or with forms of syntax which are at present obscure. Nevertheless, on the whole, the general sense even of these more difficult texts has been long ago made out. Any one who will compare the translations given by Dr Jensen of the Creation and Deluge tablets with the translations published more than fifteen years since by George Smith, will see that in all essential points they seldom vary much from one another. When Dr Jensen says that the translation of a document like the Chaldean account of the Deluge must be thoroughly revised every couple of years, he is speaking with the rashness of youth. Except in supplying the broken portions of the text, there is little of really material consequence to be added to the existing translations of that particular document. It is true that certain words and expressions still remain obscure in it; but, as regards these, though some of them may be cleared up hereafter, we can never hope to obtain full certainty as to the rest.

It is the same with the books of the Old Testament which are not historical. Hebrew scholars know full well how uncertain are many of the renderings which they put forward, and how hopeless it is to expect to attain absolute certainty in regard to the meaning of many words. The Hebraist, indeed, possesses an advantage which is denied to the Assyriologist; our knowledge of the Hebrew language is traditional, and the tradition which has handed it down has never been interrupted. But, on the other hand, this very advantage has its dangers. It often makes us blind to the difficulties which accompany the traditional interpretation of a passage.

Moreover, if the Hebraist has the advantage of an unbroken tradition, the Assyriologist has the advantage of having at his command a larger mass of literature than that contained in the Old Testament, and of having to deal with texts which were written down at a time when Assyrian was still a spoken language. The literature, furthermore, includes vocabularies and lexicons, and is written in a syllabary in which the vowels as well as the consonants are expressed.

In one important respect, however, the study of Assyrian differs from that of Hebrew. The Assyriologist must be a decipherer as well as a philologist. He must not only be able to analyse the words and grammatical forms with which he meets, but also divine the meaning of the inscription or passage which he is called upon to interpret for the first time. Some of the younger Assyriologists have forgotten this fact, and have endeavoured to establish a system of Assyrian philology before the work of decipherment has been accomplished. Such efforts must necessarily be unsuccessful until the cuneiform tablets, whether in the museums of Europe and America, or still covered by the soil, have all been examined.

Dr Jensen's "*Kosmologie*" is written for students of Assyrian only, and will be found disappointing by the reader who is not an Assyriologist. It presupposes a knowledge of the language of the cuneiform tablets, and every page bristles with Sumerian and Assyrian words. It is full of ingenious etymologies and valuable explanations of words which have hitherto been misunderstood or left untranslated. But the fresh light it throws on Babylonian cosmology is not great. "The Island of the Blessed," which Dr Jensen finds on the southern horizon of the Persian Gulf, is more than problematical; at all events I can find no trace of a belief in any such island in the cuneiform texts. On the other hand, the arguments urged by him against the identification of the Babylonian "Mountain of the World," with the "Mount of the Congregation" of the gods alluded to in Isaiah xiv. 13, are either hypercritical or beside the mark.

The cosmological system traced by Dr Jensen is that of a few mythological poems, and must not be pressed too far. At most it can represent only the beliefs of an early period and

of a particular Babylonian locality. We are not justified in inferring that the beliefs were held by the educated classes of the later historical period, or that they had ever prevailed throughout the whole of Chaldæa. Such an inference would be as wide of the truth as the conclusion that we believe the earth to be fixed and stationary because we say that the sun rises and sets. The Babylonian poet might describe the doors that had been created on either side of the world ; it does not follow that either he or his contemporaries believed in their literal existence.

With these reservations, however, we may gain a fair idea, from the documents which have come down to us, of the conception of the universe formed by the ordinary Babylonian. The earth was round and immovable, and rested on the "abyss" of waters. Above it stretched the arch of the sky like a huge extinguisher, and above this firmament, again, were the waters of "the great deep." Through the sky moved the heavenly bodies, including comets and (according to Dr Jensen) meteors. The sky was divided by "ways," one of them being the Ecliptic, another the Tropic of Cancer, another the Tropic of Capricornus. Beneath the earth lay Hades, the realm of the dead, which an old myth asserted to be surrounded by seven walls and approached by seven gates. Dr Jensen thinks that the earth was originally regarded as a lofty mountain, the roots of which penetrated to the watery abyss. But we may well ask how such a conception could have arisen among the inhabitants of the alluvial plain of Babylonia, and the passages invoked by Dr Jensen in support of his view admit of a different interpretation. He is clearly right, however, in holding that in the pre-Semitic period of Chaldæa the earth was divided into seven parallel zones, encircling one another and divided by dykes or mounds, and that this conception was modified by the Semites who substituted for it the division of the earth into four equal quarters.

A remark made casually in the Appendices (p. 507) is full of suggestiveness, and will prove of special interest to the Biblical student. Dr Jensen here points out that the Persian Gulf was called by the Babylonians the *nār marratim*, or

"river of bitterness." It was, therefore, considered by them to be not only a river, but the main stream into which flowed the four great rivers, Euphrates, Tigris, Kerkha, and Karun. Here, then, we have at last an explanation of that most difficult passage in Gen. ii. 10, where it is said that "a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted and became into four heads." Eden, as is now well known, was Edinu, the plain of Babylonia, the "garden" of which stood in the neighbourhood of Eridu on the shores of the Gulf. The "heads" will have been, not "sources" in the ordinary sense of the word, but the mouths of the rivers where the *nār marratim* or main stream seemed to flow into them. It must be remembered that in the inscriptions the rivers are regarded as deriving their waters from the sea.

I am glad to find Dr Jensen raising his voice against the uncritical acceptance of every statement found in the so-called syllabaries. The scribes who compiled the lexical lists and the commentaries on the older literature of the country, were as little "scientific" in their procedure as the rabbis of the middle ages or the etymologists of the last century. Not only the Accado-Sumerian texts, but even Semitic texts of an early date were often as obscure to them as they are to us, and the explanations they give of words and ideographs are not unfrequently childish and false. Their etymologies remind us of those which were proposed in Europe before the rise of Comparative Philology. Just as Junius derived the word *soul* from the Greek ζῆω "to live," and the Teutonic *wala* "well," so an Assyro-Babylonian scribe gravely derives the Semitic *Sabattu* "the Sabbath," from the Accadian *sa* "heart," and *bat* "to cease," and accordingly explains it as "a day of rest for the heart." I have long since drawn attention to the fact, and it is satisfactory to find Dr Jensen enforcing the same lesson. The uncritical use of the syllabaries has been the main cause of the strange translations of Assyrian words which have been current of recent years, as well as of the paradox which sees in the Accado-Sumerian texts a vast series of epigraphic mystifications.

A. H. SAYCE.

**Das Christenthum in seiner Begründung und seinen
Gegensätzen.**

*Von Dr C. E. Baumstark, Dritter Band. Heidelberg, Carl Winter,
1889. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. vi., 485.
Price of the 3 vols., M. 24.*

THIS is the third and concluding volume of a work of which the first volume appeared in 1872 and the second in 1879. The sub-title of the work is "Christian Apologetic on an Anthropological Basis." The writer takes man, his nature and his needs, for his starting-point, and undertakes to show that Christianity corresponds perfectly to the religious constitution and wants of human nature; confirming the positive argument by a negative one directed to show that no religion save Christianity satisfies the needs of humanity. The course of the argument in the two early volumes is as follows:—In the first place, in opposition to Materialism and Pantheism, the religious nature of man is ascertained by careful enquiry, and it is pointed out how far his spiritual capacity extends, and where his religious development, without the aid of revelation, has its limits. The second part of Vol. I. treats of the non-Christian religions, with the view of ascertaining how far they satisfy man's religious needs. In the second volume the author sets himself the task of proving that in Christianity the full satisfaction of these needs is found. The principal topics dealt with are, the sources of Christianity, Christianity as confirmation of natural religion, the ethics of Christianity, the metaphysical fundamental doctrines of Christianity, including the nature of God and God's relation to the world. The volume now published completes the plan of the second, and exhibits Christianity in its specific character as the Religion of Redemption, and in a concluding chapter as a civilising power.

The author claims for his scheme, as a whole, that it admits of the apologetic material being easily grouped around the psychological demonstration, and has the further merit of transferring the argument to a field on which the apologist engages on advantageous terms in direct conflict with the chief modern foes of Christianity, Pantheism and Materialism. And

there can be no doubt that the method is a very legitimate one, and that it conducts us into the heart of the subject, and gives greatest prominence to those aspects of it which at present occupy men's minds.

As to the manner in which the task has been executed, Baumstark's contribution to apologetic may be characterised as honest, painstaking, intelligent, and sensible, without brilliancy or special power. This is the impression which lingers in our mind from the perusal, years ago, of the two earlier volumes. There is, of course, a risk of doing injustice to an author who publishes a work piecemeal, one volume now and another seven or ten years later. But on the whole, it is believed that such as read the three volumes together will find the above estimate not far off the mark. The impression made on our mind by the earlier volumes is confirmed by reading the one now under review. It is pleasant and profitable reading, but not in any part specially striking, instructive, or helpful. Many important topics are discussed, and the discussion takes largely the form of a running comment on the views of unbelieving writers. Under the head of *the Foundation of Redemption*, the author treats of such questions as the origin of conscience, retribution, sin, evil. In connection with the last-mentioned topic, he discusses at considerable length the views of modern pessimists, arriving at the verdict that the pessimists are largely right in fact, but wrong in judgment as to the significance of the facts. Some of his remarks, by way of showing how much there is in life to justify a pessimistic mood, are very amusing. Here is one sample: "Every one knows that travelling brings more trouble than pleasure, and yet people travel not merely on business, or for health, or in quest of knowledge, but for enjoyment. Wearisome nerve-shaking railway journeys, bad beds, shameless hotel bills, impudent coachmen, and disgusting waiters, this and much more one willingly endures, for the sake of a single enjoyable hour." We are told also that optimistic opinions are to be met with chiefly among aspiring state and church officials, whose optimism is in inverse proportion to their merits, and who cannot imagine why a world in which they have got on so well should not appear fair to everybody.

In connection with the subject of *the Preparation of Redemption*, the writer draws a contrast between Judaism and Heathenism with a view to show the divine origin of the former in respect to monotheism, the law, and prophetism. The Old Testament history is handled somewhat freely, and with some concessions to modern critical views. Thus it is admitted that the story of Samson bears a mythological character, and that it is difficult to draw the line between the historical and the mythical. It is contended, however, that the person of Moses is historical, and that he was indeed the deliverer and legislator of Israel.

Under the head of *the Work of Redemption* the writer takes occasion to discuss the credibility of the Gospel history and the church doctrine of redemption. With reference to the former he follows generally the views of Dr Bernhard Weiss. As to the nature of redemption he is not satisfied with the church doctrine of Satisfaction, and still less with the speculative theories of atonement advocated by Schleiermacher, Biedermann, and Lipsius ; and he endeavours to construct the true doctrine out of the facts of Christ's personal history. His view comes out in this sentence : " Christ, in giving away His life and completing obedience by death, cancelled sin in principle, and so for all who enter into spiritual fellowship with Him, laid a foundation for the removal of sin, and therein lies the atonement " (p. 390). On the Person of Christ and the Trinity, not less than on the nature of Atonement, Baumstark dissents from the church doctrines. He believes in both, but he has his own way of stating the truth. He thinks the two-natures-in-one-person dogma has no foundation in Scripture, and that the true Scriptural conception of Christ's person is that humanity and divinity are each predicable of the whole Christ.

While in these and some other respects a friendly critic of church orthodoxy, the author is in the main thoroughly conservative in his theological tendency, and addresses himself earnestly to the defence of the Catholic faith.

A. B. BRUCE.

The Golden Bough: A Study in Comparative Religion.

*By J. G. Frazer, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.
London: Macmillan. 2 vols. pp. 816. 28s.*

COMPARATIVE Religion, the most interesting branch of Anthropology, is a study surrounded by peculiar difficulties. In the first place, the accumulation of the necessary data, consisting of the accounts of myths, customs, and opinions, is a task involving a prodigious expenditure of time and labour. Then, it not infrequently happens that these are often vaguely and inaccurately recorded, sometimes through carelessness, sometimes through ignorance of the language and habits of thought of the people observed; and sometimes even wilfully, owing to the bias of a preconceived hypothesis in the mind of the recorder. For these reasons the student of this subject needs to have his critical faculties in continual exercise.

Of the numerous recent contributions to the literature of this subject, this work is one of the most important and most erudite. It is the record of a literary labour which can only be compared with that of Mr Darwin, in respect to the amount and range of the reading from which the material for these volumes has been drawn.

Mr Frazer's text is the classical story of the Nemæan priest in the Arician Grove, who had slain his predecessor, and who kept solitary guard over the tree with the golden bough, waiting for the assassin, who was destined, in turn, to be his murderer and successor. From this legend our author works out an interesting and coherent hypothesis, which he offers as a key to explain the complex phenomena of human religions as exhibited in mythology, history, and folk-lore.

The hypothesis may be briefly formulated thus:—Of all the phenomena which nature presented to the human mind through the senses, in the earliest dawn of intelligence, that which produced the most forcible impression was the annual cycle of vegetative life. When men began to reason upon these observations they regarded these phenomena as due to the agency of immaterial forces, capable of volition and of

independent action, and powerful for good or evil in providing or withholding food.

As the collective human intelligence increased, this crude animistic idea became modified, and the natural tendency to anthropomorphism of conception led mankind to personify these forces, until they became regarded as independent divinities. The tribal leaders, impelled partly by arrogance, partly by self-deception, assumed to be, and were recognised as, the incarnations of these spiritual powers; becoming thus, if not real gods, at least priests and kings, whose people believed them to be able to bend nature to their wills.

These sacred personages were hedged round by protective reservations and restrictions, partly as a result, partly as a manifestation of their consecration. These we have learned to call by the Polynesian name "*taboos*." In these the ideas of holiness and of uncleanness are often blended, so that it becomes difficult eventually to distinguish whether some things are tabooed for the one cause or for the other.

These royal priests are regarded as being so much the embodiment of the spiritual forces ruling outward nature, that if they are allowed to grow old or decrepit, vegetation will languish; hence they must only retain their power while in their full vigour, and must be deposed or put to death while yet in their prime.

The many derivations of his germinal idea are traced at length and with great care; the customs and folk-lore of races from equator to pole and from east to west being laid under contribution to illustrate the thesis. In treating these, the author is generally careful to separate the details of the several observances and ceremonials from the myths which accompany them, for he has laid it down as a principle that ritual may be the parent of myth but is never its child. Whether this is universally true may well be questioned, the border line between history and myth is not always clear, and rituals to commemorate historical events are too frequent for us to disregard the possibility of a ritual surviving even when the event had grown shadowy in the past. The story of Guy Fawkes was not invented to explain the 5th of November bonfires, whatever we may say of the Philistine priests leaping

the threshold of Dagon's temple ; or of the sinew that shrank concerning which Mr Frazer has given us such interesting details.

In the author's view the history of religion is a long attempt to reconcile old custom with new reason, and to find a sound theory for an absurd practice. Therefore he expects to meet with uniformities of custom but divergences of myth.

As it is from the vestiges of the cult of the Priest-King ruling over the vegetative powers of nature and the associated taboos that Mr Frazer derives the world-wide religions, social and magical observances and their correlated myths, so one of the most fertile departments of folk-lore for his purpose is that connected with harvest celebrations. On this subject he has accumulated a vast store of legendary and folk-lore, and he traces the sequence of customs from the classic days of the rites of Demeter and Proserpine to the "Carline" and "Maiden" of our present-day Scotch peasants. With each stage he associates the cognate myths, even regarding the harvest home as the sacramental eating of the slain god. Whether these will bear the interpretation put on them in many cases is open to question ; indeed, many of the customs supposed to be relics of a system of deicide are capable of a much simpler and more natural explanation. The section on "Killing the God" is certainly the weakest and most inconclusive part in the work.

Tracing the gradual development of the primitive religious systems from this source he endeavours to show the origins of the ideas of incarnation, of the death of the god, of his resurrection, and of substitutionary sacrifice. Here the author stops short, and leaves it to the reader to carry this to its legitimate conclusions with regard to present-day religious systems, only summing up in one significant though somewhat enigmatic sentence : "The temple of Diana indeed has disappeared, and the King of the Woods no longer stands sentinel over the Golden Bough. But Nemi's woods are still green, and at evening you may hear the church bells of Albano, and perhaps, if the air be still, of Rome itself, ringing the Angelus. Sweet and solemn they chime out from the distant city, and die lin-

geringly away across the wide Campagnan marshes. *Le roi est mort, vive le roi !*"

There are some things that will stand fast in spite of all attempts to overthrow them, and the foundations of Christianity are too real to be shaken by *βίβηλοι καὶ γραῶδες μῦθοι*.

Every stage of Mr Frazer's argument is most carefully stated and ably upheld. His discussions on Totems, Taboos, Theriolatry, and other cognate subjects are of the deepest interest, but one cannot resist the conviction that Mr Frazer proves too much. He accumulates evidences as to similarity of rite in the cultus of the most dissimilar tribes, and we are led to the conclusion that the germinal stage must have been passed through while as yet there was but one human family in a very limited tract of country. The alternative, that the newly developing minds of races in environments widely dissimilar have progressed in identical paths passes the bounds of probability.

Whatever value we may assign to the fundamental hypothesis, there can be only one opinion as to the value of Mr Frazer's book as a storehouse of interesting and precious records. Those only who have been engaged in such work can have a just appreciation of the astounding labour, patience, and discrimination herein shown forth: but all readers must be struck with the easy flowing style, the vigour of description, and the modesty with which the author, in the earnest quest of truth, keeps himself so perfectly in the background.

We have been accustomed now to see the fluctuations of opinion in questions of comparative religion according to the popularity of some dominant hypothesis. Time was when Bryant and his school reduced all legendary lore to the symbolic remembrance of the Deluge and the Ark. Then we had the unsavoury school of Knight and those who regarded the central idea in mythology as the reproductive powers in nature. Then, when comparative mythology became allied to philology, we were taught that the whole circle of the gods were but personifications of solar phenomena: and now Mr Frazer has made out quite as good a case for his great

vegetative myth as any of his predecessors have done for theirs.

It is interesting to follow the supporters of these rival theories in their treatment of the oldest system of mythology on historic record, that of Egypt. Brugsch, Pierret, and Renouf have, in their respective countries, adopted the solar theory, and have given us detailed analyses of the phenomena personified by each person of the Egyptian Pantheon, and now Mr Frazer gives us the exegesis of the mythology upon his own hypothesis. According to him the Osiris myth, like the Adonis legend, is a form of the cultus of the spirit of vegetation. The Tat, or emblem of Osiris, is a tree stripped of leaves, a maypole; and Isis, the mother of Osiris, is the Demeter, the "Carline" or goddess of the corn-fields, while the Osiris with his disintegrated body is the sown grain previous to its resurrection.

Mr Frazer attaches too much weight to the late and certainly garbled versions of the Osiris myth as found in Greek authors. We know how grossly incorrect Diodorus is whenever we can check him by comparison with native literature, and the work ascribed to Plutarch on Isis and Osiris, written three thousand years after the myth had crystallised itself in its legendary form, is moulded so much by Greek ideas that it is an unsafe guide. The comparative mythologist here is met with the difficulty that Isis, Osiris and Ra were personified and regarded as real beings, as separate personal gods at the earliest period to which the Egyptian literature reaches. How these views had been developed we know not and have no materials to know. The Egyptian legend is that they were real persons—a divine ancestry.

Mr Frazer makes a good point as against the solar theory that if Osiris be the diurnal sun his festival should be daily, not yearly; but the period of that festival (beginning on the 8th of Athyr, which corresponded to our November), was scarcely one appropriate to the spirit of vegetation. Even Mr Frazer in his note cannot make out a good case from the observance. The identification of the Tat with a tree does not carry much weight. It was a pillar of a certain shape, and is associated with the idea of supporting, sometimes of light-

bearing. There is a rare sense of this word used in an inscription at Karnak as shining, associated with the Coptic "*taate*."

Again, Mr Frazer cites Plutarch as testifying that Osiris had introduced agriculture. He might also have cited the legend still farther, that he had introduced all the arts of civilisation. He also identifies Isis with Sekhet, and quotes Brugsch's testimony that *sekhet* means a barley-field; but even allowing (which is doubtful) that *sekhet* is the same as Isis, we must remember that *sekhet* is a word of many meanings. The most common use of the word, when not a proper name, is the verbal sense to overturn or to cause to descend. It is used of the sun at Dendera, "The great sun sinks (*sekhet*) low." It is used of moulding bricks, and it also signifies to weave or to make a net. The "*Her sekhet*" was the chief weaver. It is also used in the sense of wounding, and very rarely in the sense of a field. This, then, gives very little support to the thesis. The fact that in one figure in Philæ the dead Osiris is represented with corn springing from him is only one of many forms in which his dead body is represented, and is slender evidence for such a hypothesis. There is not a word about any ruling over vegetation in most of the religious rituals or hymns to Osiris, none in the "Lamentation of Isis and Nephthys" for the dead Osiris. In one stele, that of Amenemha, in the Paris library, where creation and providence are ascribed to him, it says, "Heaven and earth are before his face; the circle of the sun is in his control; the winds, the waters; a God of seeds; he gives all plants plentifully to each;" but practically the same language is used of Ra (the sun-god) in an inscription at Biban el Moluk, where it is written, "He sendeth forth the plants in their season." Similarly in the litany to the sun in a Boulaq papyrus (17) the sun is said to be the "Maker of herbs, Maker of forest trees, Maker of grass for the oxen, Lord of wheat," &c. So much is never said either of Osiris or Isis.

This part of Mr Frazer's work is also inconclusive; indeed the last word is far from having been said upon the Egyptian mythology.

Comparative Religion is a subject only in its infancy, not

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yet worthy of the name of a science, and it will probably be long ere any theory with pretensions to finality can be formulated. Truth can only be found by the gathering of accurate knowledge, by the sifting of facts and the synthesis of the selected materials; and although there is much that is provisional, and much that is speculative in Mr Frazer's work, yet he has certainly assembled his facts more judiciously and used them more systematically than his predecessors, so that his work must take rank as a classic in this branch of Anthropology.

ALEX. MACALISTER.

The Scriptural Doctrine of Sacrifice and Atonement.

By Alfred Cave, D.D., Principal of Hackney College. New Edition, Revised throughout, and partly rewritten. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 550. Price 10s. 6d.

THAT Principal Cave's "Scriptural Doctrine of the Atonement" has reached a second edition is a tribute not less to the capacity and healthy digestion of the reading public than to the competency of the author. For the book is of the good old kind, full and solid and stiff, recalling the pre-magazine age when "booklets" were yet unknown. In fact Dr Cave tells us that he was instigated to take his task in hand because he found that previous writers on the subject of sacrifice had confined themselves to one or other branch of it, to Old Testament sacrifice, or to the sacrifice of Christ, or to the sacrifices of the Christian Church. This he justly criticises as an imperfect method, these three forms of sacrifice being inextricably connected with one another. On the other hand, readers of Dr Cave's book will, we fear, be found asking whether perhaps he has not undertaken too much, laid down an outline which it is impossible for one man in one book satisfactorily to fill up. Roomy as the treatment generally is, the chapters on the New Testament teaching regarding sacrifice and atonement suffer from a too brief discussion. To one, indeed, who has gone over the ground for himself, Dr Cave's statements exhibit traces of careful study, but as they appear

in his pages these statements are bare and unsupported. The grounds of them are not exegetically investigated. Where statement alone is required Dr Cave's work is excellent. Thus, one of the most valuable parts of his book is the very clear survey he has given of the various theories of atonement which have been held. These theories are lucidly stated, and they are criticised in a spirit of admirable candour and charity.

It can hardly be expected that in discussing Old Testament sacrifice there should be anything very novel. Dr Cave finds, as many previous writers have found, that the Mosaic sin and trespass offerings atoned for the sin of the offerer in the sense of *covering* the sin, and so rendering it powerless to arouse the judicial anger of Jehovah. On some points, as on the meaning of the imposition of hands on the sacrificial victim, he dissents from the traditional view. On others, as on the typical significance of the Mosaic dispensation, he tends to be retrogressive. Coming to the New Testament he finds that the death of Christ operates for our reconciliation with God by its being a substitutionary bearing of the determinate penalty attached to sin by God. And at this point we begin rather to feel that large as Dr Cave's book is, it might with advantage have been still further expanded in order to embrace an exposition of the harmony of Scripture doctrine on this subject with the moral sense of men. It is at this point light is desired from men of light and leading. That the Scriptures teach substitution is plain as day; but many find themselves in the merest twilight, through which flitting bats disturb their meditations, when they proceed to reconcile this doctrine with other radical beliefs and undeniable facts.

Dr Cave has read widely and carefully; and he tells us that in this edition of his book literary references are brought down to date. A considerable element in the utility of the book consists in the fulness of reference to authoritative works. But it must be said that some of the references had better have been omitted than made in the manner adopted by Dr Cave. Since the publication of the first edition of this book there has appeared a work in which the foundations are laid for a scientific treatment of sacrifice, from which results of importance

can scarcely fail to be gathered. But of Professor Robertson Smith's intensely interesting and suggestive contribution to the literature of his subject, Dr Cave has little more than this to say: "These naturalistic views are the outgrowth of a philosophic tendency, and the criticism of a tendency can only be advantageously conducted by a criticism of its postulates as well as of its instances, its minutiae, its detail. Where principles are at stake, a brief criticism would be valueless." That may be so, but precisely those who are most thoroughly interested in Dr Cave's subject will be the most grievously disappointed at finding a total blank at the very point where the criticism of experts is at present required. But with all drawbacks Dr Cave's book will prove a quarry for less industrious men, and on the whole it admirably accomplishes its purpose of setting forth the whole doctrine of Scripture on Sacrifice and Atonement.

MARCUS DODS.

A Historical Introduction to the Books of the New Testament.

By George Salmon, D.D., F.R.S., Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, sometime Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin. London: John Murray. Fourth Edition, crown 8vo, pp. 654, Price 9s.

IT is not surprising that Dr Salmon's introduction to the study of the New Testament should so soon have reached a fourth edition. Its clear and vigorous style, its apt illustrations, its freedom from needless technicalities, its manly tone of sturdy common sense, would have won a hearty reception for a less able and learned champion in the theological arena. But no one will quarrel with the assertion that a book which covers so much ground, and treats of such a variety of topics, can hardly be expected to exhibit the same careful workmanship in all its parts. It is almost a necessity that in completing so large a design the author must on some points have accepted current views, without submitting them to the same careful and minute examination which he bestowed upon those parts of his subject which he has made more peculiarly

his own. Perhaps a few pages of this review may be devoted to the enquiry whether Dr Salmon has not thus lent the sanction of his name to one particular argument, touching a very important matter, which requires more consideration than it appears to have hitherto received from its exponents.

Ever since Professor Sanday published his essay on "The Authorship and Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel" (Macmillan, 1872), English scholars have given a prominent place to the proof of the authenticity and genuineness of the Fourth Gospel from the internal evidence of the Gospel itself. Dr Salmon devotes one lecture to an exposition of this argument, and says that he chiefly reproduces the reasonings of Professor Sanday and Dr (now Bishop) Westcott.¹ Professor Sanday has himself somewhat modified the position which he originally took up (see his Inaugural Lecture as Dean Ireland's Professor, delivered in 1883). But even in the parts of the argument by which he still stands, and which Dr Salmon repeats, there are points to which exception may be taken. I select for criticism the following from the *data* which are taken to indicate that the writer of the Gospel must have been a Jew of the time of Christ.

(1.) Dr Salmon's first proof of Jewish origin is the use which the writer makes of the Old Testament. Quotations from it are as frequent, he tells us, as in the Jewish Gospel, St Matthew. Professor Sanday calls this a convincing argument. But is the number of quotations which a writer makes from the Old Testament any indication that he is a Jew? There are writings of Gentile Christians, like Justin Martyr or Clement of Alexandria, which contain a very much larger proportion of such quotations than the fourth Gospel. Justin's "Dialogue with Trypho" is full of them, while his two "Apologies" contain hardly any. There are no quotations from the Old Testament in the Epistles of St John, and only one in the Apocalypse. Is the writer, therefore, less a Jew than the author of the Gospel? Obviously the number of quotations which a writer makes from the Old Testament depends on his subject and habit of writing, not upon his nationality.

(2.) Along with many other exponents of this argument,

¹ Lecture xvi., p. 275 in the Fourth Edition.

Dr Salmon assumes that when a Greek quotation in the Gospel corresponds more nearly with the Hebrew original than with the Greek of the LXX., the writer must have translated the Hebrew for himself, and, therefore, must have been a Hebrew-speaking Jew. There is good reason for thinking that the true explanation of this phenomenon is the fact that the writer of the Gospel used a different Greek translation from our LXX. version.¹

(3.) Next, the writer's knowledge of Judaism is quoted as evidence that he was a Jew by birth. But the objection at once occurs that St Luke is not supposed to have been a Jew, and his Gospel exhibits a considerable acquaintance with Judaism, probably quite as much as, if not more than, the fourth Gospel.² The answer to this would no doubt be that St Luke's knowledge of Judaism may have been due to the information brought down to him by the tradition of the Christian Church, and to his association with Jews, and to his study of the Old Testament. But if so, is it not possible that the knowledge of Judaism which the fourth Gospel displays may be accounted for in the same way? Whether the writer used the other three Gospels or not, he certainly assumes a knowledge of the general Christian tradition. There was a Jewish element and a Judaizing party in the Christian Church. There were Jewish synagogues in the towns where Christianity was planted. There was an active controversy with Judaism, whether within the Church or without. We know from the scanty remains of early Christian literature which have come down to us, from Justin Martyr's "Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew" in the second century, Cyprian's three books "Against the Jews" in the third, and from Tertullian's "Answer to the Jews," not to mention others, that this controversy continued long past the time with which we are now concerned. In fact to the present day it has never wholly come to an end. Finally there is ample evidence wherever we look amongst the early Christian literature

¹ See a note on "The Greek Quotations in the Fourth Gospel" in the *Classical Review* for December 1890, and Hatch's "Essays in Biblical Greek" (Essays IV. and V.).

² If the Acts be included, St Luke shows a much larger knowledge of Judaism than the writer of the fourth Gospel.

of the extraordinary zeal with which Gentile converts who had any taste for literary pursuits devoted themselves to the study of the Jewish Scriptures. All these considerations appear to greatly weaken the force of the reasoning that the writer of the fourth Gospel must have been a Jew because he is acquainted with Jewish customs and ideas.

(4.) Amongst the Jewish ideas to which especial prominence is given in connection with this argument are those connected with the expected Messiah, and both Dr Salmon and Professor Sanday, as well as others, found on them an argument for the early date of the Gospel. They argue that the Jewish expectation of a temporal Messianic Kingdom at Jerusalem came to an end when the city was destroyed by Titus, A.D. 70, and that therefore the writer of the Gospel must have lived before that date, and have been a contemporary of our Lord. In stating the argument Dr Salmon goes beyond Professor Sanday. He supposes that when the city was destroyed the belief in a temporal kingdom came to an end even amongst the Jews. He does not see any fatal objection to this supposition in the historical fact that sixty years later, in the reign of Hadrian, the pretended Messiah Bar-chochebas drew vast numbers of his countrymen to his standard, and hundreds of thousands of Jewish lives were sacrificed in the attempt to drive the Romans out of Palestine and establish the Messianic kingdom in Jerusalem. He speaks of these events as due to "a revival of Jewish nationalist and anti-Roman feeling" (p. 281, note). But what proof is there that these feelings had died out in the meantime? The great Jewish rebellions against the authority of Rome in the reign of Trajan (A.D. 98-117) do not look as if they had. Professor Sanday takes a different line. He thinks that the expectation of a temporal kingdom may have continued amongst the Jews, but that such hopes were certainly laid aside by the Christians (pp. 36, 290-2). But even if this were so, it does not follow that a Christian writer could not have been familiar with the Jewish expectation. The following extract from Justin's "Dialogue with Trypho," written in the second century, is evidence to the contrary. "Do you really admit," Trypho the

Jew asks of his Christian opponent (ch. lxxx.), "that this place, Jerusalem, shall be rebuilt; and do you expect your people to be gathered together, and made joyful with Christ and the patriarchs, and the prophets, both the men of our nation, and other proselytes who joined them before your Christ came?" To which Justin answers that he and many others are of this opinion, but that some good Christians think otherwise.

(5.) It would be possible to produce other passages from Justin and from the writers of the second and third centuries to parallel the quotations from the Gospel which are advanced as containing topics "which were discussed in our Lord's time, and not a hundred years later" (Salmon, p. 281. See also Sanday, p. 291). One of the latter is the objection made by the Jews in John xii. 34, "We have heard out of the law that Christ abideth for ever: and how sayest thou, The Son of man must be lifted up? who is this Son of man?" With which we may compare the objection made by Trypho (ch. xxxii.), "These and such like Scriptures, sir, compel us to wait for Him who, as Son of man, receives from the Ancient of days the everlasting kingdom. But this so-called Christ of yours was dishonourable and inglorious, so much so that the last curse contained in the law of God fell on him, for he was crucified." The other objection in John vii. 27, "We know this man whence he is: but when Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence he is," which is also quoted as being unknown to the second century, and which Sanday paraphrases (p. 291), as "Was not the Christ to come suddenly out of obscurity?" may be compared with what appears from Trypho viii. and cx. (and Apol. i. 31?) to have been a commonplace of controversy in Justin's time, "But Christ—if He has indeed been born, and exists anywhere—is unknown, and does not even know Himself, and has no power until Elias come to anoint Him, and make Him manifest to all."¹

¹ With which may perhaps be compared John i. 26, 27, "There standeth one among you whom ye know not; he it is who coming after me is preferred before me," &c., and 33, "I knew him not: but he that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending," &c

(6.) Under the same head Dr Salmon includes the discussions in the Gospel about the observance of the Sabbath. He asks (p. 281), "What Gnostic of the second century would have cared to discuss a breach of the Sabbath, and to inquire when the duty of Sabbath observance (admitted to be the general rule) was overborne by a higher obligation?" Has Dr Salmon overlooked the fact that in Justin the reasonings about the Sabbath are almost precisely the same as in the fourth Gospel?¹ Indeed the resemblance is so close that we are inclined to ask whether the discussion in Justin was simply imitated from the controversies between Jesus and the Jews in the Gospel. But even if this be so, are we to suppose that the Christian controversialists of the second century were only fighting dead men, that they were simply repeating arguments which they learned from the Gospels to have been used a century before, but which no real person "cared to discuss" at the time when they were writing? This is no doubt a possibility. But it ought not to be assumed without proof.

(7.) The knowledge which the Gospel shows of the topography of the Holy Land and of Jerusalem and the Temple, is quoted as a further proof that the writer was a Jew of Palestine who lived before the destruction of the city in A.D. 70. Many examples might be cited to show that a knowledge of Palestine was not limited to born Jews. But it is certainly natural to expect that, if the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans under Titus were so complete as is commonly supposed,

¹ Compare "Trypho" xxiii., xxvi., xxvii., xxix., xlvii., &c. (and "Ignat. ad Magness." ix., x.), with John v. 10, 17; vii. 19-24.

The following references may be of use in comparing the allusions to Jewish ideas in the fourth Gospel with those in Justin Martyr, a Gentile Christian of the second century. Almost all the topics referred to are amongst those cited by Professor Sanday and Dr Salmon. Compare "Trypho," xlix., &c., with John i. 21, Matt. xvii. 10, &c. (Elias must first come); "Trypho," lxxviii., 1 Apol. xxvi., liii., lvi. (see also "Clem. Recog.," i. 54, 57, 63, ii. 7, &c.), with John iv., viii. 48, Luke ix. 52, Acts viii. 9-25, &c. (Jews and Samaritans); "Trypho," xxv., xlv., xli. with John viii. 33, 37, 39; Matt. iii. 9 (Abraham is our father); "Trypho," i., 1 Apol. xxxii., &c. (see also "Clem. Recog.," i. 68, iv. 5, and i. 32, 33) with John i. 45 (Moses in the law and the prophets), viii. 52, 53 (Abraham and the prophets), ix. 28 (Moses' disciples); "Trypho," cviii., lxxviii. with John i. 46, vii. 41, 42, 52 (can Christ come out of Nazareth, or Galilee, and not from Bethlehem?).

we should find no reference to its topographical features in writers of a later date. Nevertheless it is remarkable that in the gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, a work which is universally dated long after the destruction of Jerusalem, there are a large number of very exact references not only to the topography of Palestine and neighbouring countries, but also to Jerusalem and the buildings of the Temple, much more than are to be found in any of the Gospels, or perhaps in all of them together. However we are to account for this remarkable fact, it compels us to pause before we can agree with Professor Sanday, that "nothing more" than the allusions to Jerusalem and the Temple "is needed to prove that the Gospel was written by one who was intimate with Jerusalem as it was before 70 A.D." (p. 288, note 1).

The issues involved in the question of the date and authorship of the Fourth Gospel make it the part of wisdom to look at the evidence with the utmost care, and not to commit the case to any reasonings which are not entirely relevant and valid. Weakness in any point selected as a point of defence is apt to be taken to imply weakness along the whole line. The argument in support of the Johannine origin of the Fourth Gospel is of course a very large one, embracing many important *data* in the external evidence as well as in the internal. It is only a few points in the latter that we deal with here. We venture to call attention to these in view of the great importance of the question, and the place given them in the argument as it is at present conducted. We refer to them as they are stated in particular by the author of this useful Introduction and by Professor Sanday, because the well-known scholarship of these two valued authors gives weight to any opinion which they express.

J. A. CROSS.

The First Three Gospels : their Origin and Relations.

By J. Estlin Carpenter, M.A., Sunday School Association, London.
(Second Edition.) 8vo, pp. 428. Price 3s. 6d.

THIS book deserves to be carefully studied. It is able, very well written, and the material, which is gathered from many sources, is most skilfully arranged. It is also based on a

thorough knowledge of what has been written on the Synoptic Gospels both in our own and in other lands. While we gladly acknowledge the ability and scholarship of the author, and also admit his desire to be fair and accurate, we arise from the study of his work with the persuasion that the writer's unconscious or conscious bias has coloured his treatment of his great theme. It is significant to find in the preface the following statement: "Above all, Dr Pfleiderer's most stimulating book, '*Das Urchristenthum*,' has been my constant companion." Any attentive reader of the work of Dr Pfleiderer and of the present work will readily see that the two are one in spirit and in aim. To both the origin and history of Christianity are the origin and history of a certain circle of ideas. To both "the sublime figure of the Christ, portrayed to us by the first three evangelists, was, in a certain sense, created by the Church." Of both of them it may be said what Dr Schürer has said of the "*Urchristenthum*," that they do not sufficiently take into account the creative personality of the Lord Jesus Christ.

The outcome of Professor Carpenter's work, and the impression made on us by it, are that we really do not know anything of Jesus of Nazareth. In one place Professor Carpenter says, "Our Synoptic Gospels present us with three versions of the Teacher's sayings, and their variations often point the way to important facts. But there is no rule or norm by which to judge of their positive value, beyond our ideas of what will harmonise with such conceptions of his character as we have already formed." If the ideas we have formed of him are that He was a Jewish Rabbi of great moral insight and of exceptionally high character, but only this and nothing more, we shall at once shut out every saying and doing ascribed to Him, which involve a claim to exceptional honour and obedience, and to exceptional rank. All sayings, such as "Come unto Me . . . and I will give you rest," are at once set down on this principle as unhistorical. The method of Professor Carpenter is, that he has somehow formed a conception of the character of Jesus, and he has to explain away all that he finds inconsistent with it.

We find that the book begins with chapters which deal

with the Gospels and early Christian literature, the first three Gospels and the fourth, the formation of the Gospel traditions; that it proceeds to deal with the Messianic idea, Messiah's preparation, the miracles, and the coming of the Son of man; and that finally it treats of the Gospels in themselves and in their relations to one another. The last section is the most valuable in the book, and contains some helps to a solution of one of the most complex problems presented to the exegetical science of our time. It may be so far separated from the previous part of the work, and in truth Professor Carpenter, in the interest excited in him by the problem, has so far laid aside his bias as to let the elements of the case before him have something like their due weight on his mind.

We do not find the earlier parts of the book to be nearly so satisfactory. The problem he has set himself to solve is twofold: how to account for the origin of Christianity without Christ, and, secondly, to show how the Church invented the Christ set forth in the Gospels. Before he can reach this problem, he has to set the Synoptic Gospels aside as unhistorical documents. He minimises the historical evidence of the existence of the Gospels; he refers only to such witnesses as the Canon of Muratori, Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement, Tatian. These, he admits, had our Gospels as we have them. When he deals with the testimony of Justin Martyr and Papias, he does it under the heading, "The Gospels before they were Scriptures." He will not allow that Justin had our Gospels, or, at all events, if he had them, he did not regard them as Scripture. Professor Carpenter has not looked at the probabilities of the case, nor measured the difficulty of supposing that a new set of Gospels should have been imposed on the Church between the time of Justin and the time of Irenæus. It is calculated by Professor Norton that at least 60,000 copies of the Gospels were in existence at the beginning of the third century; that they were recognised as authoritative, read in the Churches in Asia Minor, Greece, Egypt, Italy, Spain, and Africa. The question is, how could books, not regarded as Scripture in the time of Justin, have been recognised as Scripture in all these places within the next quarter of a

century? To ask the question is to answer it. The Gospels of Irenæus are the Gospels which lie at the foundation of Tatian's Diatessaron, are the Gospels from which Justin quotes; and the same considerations lead us still further back.

It must not be forgotten that behind the somewhat scanty references to the Gospels contained in the extant Christian literature of the second century, there lies the Christian life of many churches in many places. The presumption is that the faith and life of these churches were fed on the Gospels, which are to them authoritative when they emerge into the clear light of history. Professor Carpenter says: "For more than two generations distinguished teachers and eminent church-officers had been eagerly discussing, travelling to collect information, meeting for conference on diversities of practice, corresponding, issuing decrees, asserting pretensions and repudiating them, smoothing down difficulties, softening bitterness, and conciliating opposition: and the result was the gradual growth into light and strength and beauty of the 'holy Catholic Church.' Here lay the rule of faith. To this and to this alone belonged the Scriptures and the sacrament." During this period and by these means "the four Gospels attained to their unique position." It is a glowing picture, but somewhat fanciful. It takes no account, however, of the fact that during the second century there was no organised universal church. There were many churches, Syrian, Egyptian, Greek, Latin, and these churches used different languages—some spoke Greek, others Latin, others languages of the East. The supposition of Professor Carpenter is, that these churches corresponded together, and somehow came to an agreement to select four Gospels, which were henceforth to be acknowledged as authoritative. Somehow all the churches were got to agree, local prejudices disappeared, and the usual conservative tenderness of particular churches vanished, and there was a general consent to accept these four Gospels and no other. Truly a most wonderful state of matters; without a parallel in the history of the Church.

We now come to Professor Carpenter's account of the genesis of the Christian conception of Christ. The main

element is, of course, the Messianic idea. We ought to state this in his own words.

"The Apostolic witness all centered round one great idea. Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah. When He had passed away all reminiscence was steeped in this belief. By what processes His followers had arrived at this conviction need not now be examined. It is sufficient to observe that the recollection of His words and deeds were suffused with the glow of feeling which this faith excited. All memory palpitated with emotion, which could hardly fail to impart to imagination a certain quickening power. Under its stimulus the testimony even of eye witnesses rose unconsciously to meet the high demand for a fit account of Messiah's work" (pp. 82, 83).

According to our author the early church under the influence of the Messianic idea set to work both unconsciously and intentionally to shape the Gospel story in accordance with the Messianic ideal. We ask for some proof of the assertion, and we find a very good account of the Messianic idea as it was set forth in Hebrew prophecy, and in the current expectations of the people. Professor Carpenter has really a historic conscience, and he frankly admits that the title "Son of God" cannot be discovered in any of the earlier literature concerning the Messianic idea" (p. 116). He also admits that the aspect of Messiah's work which identifies Him with the suffering Servant of Jehovah has no place in apocalyptic literature, is unconnected with the doctrine of the two ages, is independent of the royal line of Judah, seems on a different plane from the visions of the New Jerusalem, or the great judgment of the Son of Man. It lies altogether apart from the expectation of those who hoped that Messiah would restore the kingdom to Israel. All this he admits, and admits also "that its presence in the Gospels is palpable." Here are two instances in which the Messianic idea as set forth in the Gospels is utterly different from current expectations. Whence are they and others?

"When we try to trace it back to its source," says Professor Carpenter of the suffering Servant of Jehovah, "shall we be wrong if we ascribe it, at least provisionally, to Jesus Himself?" We should say, decidedly not. If he were to follow out the hint given by himself here, he would do well in ascribing a great many other things to Jesus Himself. Among other

things he might see that the character portrayed in the Gospels is a real character, and not one invented by the Church.

It is a hard task which Professor Carpenter has set to himself. It is to show how "the high demand for a fit account of Messiah's work" should have arisen, and to show also how a conception of Messiah's work radically different from the popular expectation can be said to have met that demand. How a Messianic idea which thwarted and defeated popular demands can be said to meet that demand, is not very apparent. But as Professor Davidson says,

"The dimensions of the Messianic hope among the Jews at the beginning of our era may very readily be overstated. It is doubtful, for instance, if there was any idea of a suffering Messiah. Again, it is certain that among Jews outside of Christianity a great Messianic development took place in the first century A.D. This may have been due to Christian influence and intercourse before the final schism between Judaism and Christianity. It is certain that the Christology of the New Testament was largely due to the teaching of Christ, and reflection on His life, particularly the conception of the spiritual nature of His aims and His kingdom. These points exclude that interpretation of the New Testament literature proposed by Strauss—(1) The supernatural element in the Gospels, being impossible, shows that the narrative arose long after the life of Jesus; they are mythical. (2) The *ideas* which have been clothed in history are the popular Messianic ideas of the time. The theory falls with the falsehood of the last assumption. No such developed circle of Messianic ideas can be shown to have existed before Christ."—"Chambers' Encyclopædia," article *Bible*.

The two assumptions of Strauss are also the main assumptions of Professor Carpenter, and his account of the origin falls with the falsehood of his assumptions. We may say in conclusion that Professor Carpenter's book gives no rational explanation, either of the origin of the Gospels, or of the character, person, and work of the Lord Jesus Christ. As Dr Dods has said, "It abounds in unverifiable statements and misleading principles."

JAMES IVERACH.

A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ.

By Emil Schürer. Div. I. Vol. I., pp. 475, and Vol. II., pp. 415. Translated by the Rev. John Macpherson, M.A., Edinburgh. 1890. T. & T. Clark. 2 vols. 8vo. Price 21s.

SCHÜRER'S book is recognised as the standard authority upon its subject. Readers may be reminded that Division II., upon "The Internal Condition of Palestine and of the Jewish People in the time of Jesus Christ," appeared before Division I., which gives the background in the form of "The Political History of Palestine from 175 B.C. to 135 A.D." The present division opens with a valuable Introduction in three sections, devoted respectively to Scope and Literature, Auxiliary Sciences, and Sources.

The Scope is well set forth in the author's opening words :

"In the fulness of time the Christian religion sprang out of Judaism ; as a fact, indeed, of divine revelation, but also inseparably joined by innumerable threads with the previous thousand years of Israel's history. No incident in the Gospel story, no word in the preaching of Jesus Christ, is intelligible apart from its setting in Jewish history, and without a clear understanding of that world of thought-distinction of the Jewish people."

This no doubt represents a study which no scientific theologian can safely ignore. It is the study of the organism in its environment. It is not enough, therefore, to be familiar with the conditions reflected in the Old Testament Canon ; for, as Schürer remarks, "the Gospel of Jesus Christ is much more closely connected with its immediately contemporary surroundings, and the tendencies of thought prevailing in that particular age." This sense of the significance of the "Ages of Silence" marks a new era in the interpretation of the New Testament. But whilst Schürer thus extends the scope of study, as compared with Schneckenburger and Hausrath, he confines himself to the history of the *Jewish* people in the *times of Jesus Christ*, since "this alone in the strict and proper sense constitutes the presupposition of the earliest history of Christianity." He justifies his *terminus*

a quo and his *terminus ad quem* on the ground that "the predominance of Pharisaism is that which most distinctly characterized this period," and that "this Pharisaic tendency had its origin in conflicts of the Maccabean age;" while "just as the concluding of our enquiry with the age of Hadrian recommends itself on outward or political grounds, so also it will be found to correspond to the course of the spiritual development of the people." Henceforth "no longer the Thora of Moses, but the Talmud, forms the *basis* of all juristic discussion." There then follow a lucid programme of Division II. (that on the internal conditions), and a full bibliography of the subject as a whole.

The section devoted to the Sources of the more external history is very thorough, dealing with the Two Books of Maccabees, Non-extant Sources (*e.g.*, Posidonius, Strabo, Nicolas of Damascus, Justus of Tiberias, Aristo of Pella, various works *περί 'Ιουδαίων*, Chronographers, &c.), Josephus, Greek and Roman writers, and last but not least, the Rabbinical Literature. In regard to the Books of Maccabees, the first of which is our main source for 175-135 B.C., he here confines himself to the question of the date of the Seleucid era, and reaches the conclusion that in First Maccabees it begins with *spring* instead of the usual *autumn* 312 B.C.; while for Second Maccabees there is "no sufficient reason for assuming a special era" of its own, rather than either that of its more trustworthy namesake or the usual Syrian reckoning. For the rest, Schürer's rehabilitation of Justus of Tiberias, as "a man of precisely the same style and tendency as Josephus" is to be noted. Josephus himself, "the Jewish priest now transformed into a Greek literary man," is fully treated; the sources of various parts of his writings are examined, and his tendencies as an historian duly described. But to many the succinct account of the bewildering literature, current under the title Rabbinic, and due to "the professional labours of the Rabbis or scribes," will be most welcome. The last decade of the second century A.D. is taken as *terminus a quo* for almost all extant types, whether Halachic or Haggadic (the "Book of Jubilees" being the one clear exception); and Talmudic proper—Mishna, Tosephta, Jeru-

saalem and Babylonian Talmuds—Midrashim, Targums, and certain historical works (*Megillath Taanith*, *Seder Olam*, &c.) are all presented in clear survey. Here students will read with interest Schürer's arguments leading to the conclusion that "in Babylon the old and correct statement about a translation of the Pentateuch by the proselyte Aquila was erroneously attached to the anonymous Chaldaean Targum, and the name Onkelos therefore is merely a corruption of the name Aquila." In view of agreement in certain New Testament renderings of Old Testament passages (*e.g.*, Eph. iv. 8), with those of the Targums and for other reasons, he also traces back the basis of the known Targums to the apostolic age and even earlier, and agrees with Nöldeke that their linguistic character is Palestinian.

As regards the history itself, only a few points can here be noted. Perhaps its main feature is the admirable way in which the religious and political aspects of the Maccabean movement are related, and the gradual supersession of the former by the latter is traced. The Jewish history during each period is prefaced by a careful sketch of Syria as a whole, under first the Seleucids and then the Romans, which, however, is largely interwoven again into that history itself. "The Rise of the Maccabees, and the Period of Freedom" is introduced by a chapter entitled "Religious Destitution and Revival," in which the interest of the period is indicated, and the basis laid for its true appreciation. "The Maccabean age was simply the period of the greatest crisis through which it (Judaism) was called to pass during the whole era"—between the enunciation of the law by Ezra and its codification in the Mishna.

"The attempt was made to overthrow the foundations of its earlier development, to convert the Jewish people to heathenism. The result was that the foundations laid before by Ezra were now strengthened, and the theoretical elaboration of the law and its practical applications were prosecuted with glowing enthusiasm. The law which Ezra had introduced was essentially a ceremonial law. The religion of Israel is there reduced to strictly legalised forms, in order that it may be made more secure against the influences of heathenism. . . . Precision in the observance of all these prescribed rites was to be made henceforth the gauge and measure

of piety. And in order to make this precision as exact as possible, it was necessary that an authentic interpretation be supplied. A special order, under the name of 'Scribes,' devoted themselves to the study of the law as a profession, and engaged upon a subtle and refining exposition of it. But the pious considered it to be their chief business to fulfil with zeal and conscientiousness the law as thus expounded. That very considerable progress in this direction had been made, even in the second century before Christ, is distinctly proved by the history of the Maccabean revolution. There was a religious party which interpreted the Sabbath command so strictly, that they would rather surrender without a struggle than infringe upon the observance of the Sabbath by wielding the sword (1 Macc. ii. 32-38). . . . But alongside of this legalistic tendency, there were operating in Palestine, from the time of Alexander the Great, influences of an altogether different kind, which proved the more decidedly and dangerously hostile to the interests of the law and its promoters the longer they existed. These were the Hellenizing tendencies" (pp. 193-4).

In this quotation we have the data of the coming struggle. Here Hellenism within the Jewish nation was mainly represented by the upper classes, and concentrated as time went on in the ranks of the higher priesthood, who, as officials, were "opposed to any kind of religious enthusiasm," and under John Hyrcanus (135-105 B.C.) became recognised under a name familiar to us in the Gospels as Sadducees (Zadocites). Zeal for the Law of the Scribes appears in the circle represented in the above incident, the Chasidim, or "Pious," the lineal predecessors of the Pharisees (p. 211, note). Distinguishable from them were the Maccabees proper, a middle or national party, marked, indeed, by a zeal for the law in its substance, as the law of their fathers, and so associated at first with the Chasidim; but fired also with a desire for political freedom, and subsequently for supremacy at home, which more and more emerged, and at last transferred Hyrcanus and his following from the Pharisaic to the Sadducaic side. Such, at least, is Schürer's view (pp. 198, 286-8). And the study of the period in this connection is most timely just now, seeing that Professor Cheyne claims that it is the presupposition to any valid judgment of the historical setting and dating of many Psalms, or, as Schürer himself reminds us (pp. 194, 209), of the Book of Daniel.

The frequent occurrence of an "opposition party" in the nation itself at this time (*ἄνδρες παράνομοι* and *ἄνομοι*, 1 Macc. xi. 21, 25) must be reckoned with (p. 245, cf. 236).

Space will allow only a reference to the excellent *resumé* of the development in the aims of the Maccabean party on p. 256, to the skilful use made of coins in proof of an encroaching dynastic spirit under the old forms (p. 285), as well as to the account of Herod's attitude of compromise towards Hellenism and the Law. The notes are full of rich material bearing on topics such as the term "Maccabee" (p. 212), the Feast of the Dedication (p. 217), the units of organization under Gabinius (p. 373), the relation of Antipater's office to Hyrcanus II. (pp. 376, 378), Jewish polygamy (p. 455), and especially the topography of Zion (pp. 207, 263). Indeed accuracy, topographical, chronological, and otherwise, is strenuously cultivated. As to the moral, no one can read the account of the Maccabean deliverer-king, as he came to be, without realising more vividly why the Messiah of popular wish and imagination was far other than Jesus of Nazareth, the Prince of Peace, the Christ of God.

So far nothing has been said of Vol II., which describes the history from the death of Herod (B.C. 4) to the destruction of the Jewish Commonwealth (135 A.D.). Nor is detailed notice needed. To say that it is Schürer's is to ensure its accuracy and adequacy. But the dynastic complications and intrigues, the doings and misdoings of the Roman procurators, which here play so large a part, are not of immediate religious interest, except at the points where this history touches that of Christianity, as it does here and there, notably as regards the evangelical chronology. In the most important case—the census of Quirinius—Schürer, after a searching examination (pp. 105-143), sums up adversely to the accuracy of Luke's account. His contention is: (1) that history knows nothing of a *general census ordered* by Augustus, so that Luke, possibly aware of a census in many provinces, may have simply generalized therefrom (as Schürer believes him to have done in the case of the famines in the days of Claudius; see Acts xi., 28, discussed in section 19), a mistake to which an imperial *survey* by Augustus, if historical, may have contributed; (2)

"he knows farther that a census in Judæa under Quirinius (of 'the taxing,' Acts v. 37) had taken place somewhere about the time of the birth of Jesus Christ. By means of this census he explains the fact that the parents of Jesus travelled from Nazareth to Bethlehem, and places it therefore exactly in the time of the birth of Jesus under Herod, *i.e.*, about ten or twelve years too soon." In proof that such mistake is not precluded *a priori*, he urges that Theudas (Acts v. 36) seems to be antedated by some forty years.

This discussion is followed by an excursus on "the so-called testimony of Josephus to Christ," where he prefers the hypothesis of "spuriousness," as simpler than that of "interpolation."

Most important for the history of the Palestinian Church, and so indirectly for the Church at large, is the course of national ferment connected in some sort with the persistent Messianic hope (yet more political and degenerate in form now that the Israel within Israel had become separated to Jesus as its Messiah), so admirably depicted in its two great moments, *i.e.*, A.D. 66-73 and 132-135, the one ending in the dismantling of the city and destruction of the Temple, the other in the complete blotting out of the metropolis of the Jewish race.

Among points of detail that deserve mention in connection with early Christianity, it must suffice to note what is said on the jurisdiction of the Sanhedrin (p. 74), the chronology of the *Legatio ad Caium* (pp. 101-104), the date of James' martyrdom (pp. 186-7, "the year 62 cannot by any means be accepted as the date of his death"), Zacharias, son of Baruch (p. 229, *not* to be identified with him of Matt. xxiii. 35), and the rebuilding on the temple site by Hadrian, *c.* 130 A.D., to which date the Epistle of Barnabas (*cf.* xvi. 4) would then be referred (pp. 290-5).

Students will appreciate the eight appendices at the end, which include not only the history of Chalcis, Iturea, and Abilene, and of the Nabatean kings, as well as the genealogies of the Seleucidæ, Asmoneans, and the house of Herod; but also an examination of the Jewish coins, and coins of the Rebellion, together with comparative tables both of the Jewish, Macedonian, and Julian Calendars, and of the Greek, Syrian,

Roman, and Christian eras. In all of these, wide and accurate scholarship has condensed results hitherto scattered over a large literature. The addenda to Div. I. are mainly bibliographical and topographical (*e.g.*, the identification of Gamala with Jamli is now accepted), the chief confirmation being that of the *birthday* proper of Herod (Matt. xiv. 6). In a note, subscribers are exhorted to apply to the publishers for the translation of Schürer's exhaustive Index, to be issued shortly—good advice, to judge by the German original. As compared with Vol. I., the translation shows signs of haste. If any readers find matters obscure, especially at the beginning (where we have compared the original), the translator, rather than the author, must be held napping (*e.g.*, p. 6., mid. 21, 28 end, where read "Mariam could not have been born before B.C. 5, her son Aristobulus scarcely before A.D. 14"); nor is his English always equally good.

This volume concludes the "Foreign Theological Library" as a series; translations henceforth will appear "as occasion offers." The first of these will be Schultz's *Alttestamentliche Theologie*.

VERNON BARTLET.

The Book of Isaiah, xl.-lxvi.

By the Rev. Geo. Adam Smith, M.A.

(*The Expositor's Bible*). London: Hodder & Stoughton. Large crown 8vo, pp. 447. Price 7s. 6d.

THOSE who have read Mr Adam Smith's previous work (The Book of Isaiah i-xxxix.) in this series have looked forward with interest to the appearance of the present volume. The task which was here presented to him was in many respects a more formidable one. The latter portion of "Isaiah" is less varied in its contents and less practical in its character than are the earlier chapters. The centre of interest is religious rather than historical. Whereas the victory and the redemption upon which the earlier chapters converge are nothing less than the overthrow of the forces of a world-power which threatened Israel with annihilation, in the latter portion of the book the consummation is reached by the suffering of the

Exile, and Israel's hope is identified with the mystery of the sacrifice of her Representative. The stratum of thought is less obvious in proportion as it is more continuously maintained at a higher spiritual level.

Admirers of the previous volume need have no cause to be disappointed with its successor. We confess to having read Mr Smith's exposition of these chapters (xl.-lxvi.) with the utmost interest from beginning to end. The freshness and vigour which the writer succeeds in imparting to his discourse are admirably sustained throughout the work. It is impossible not to feel that passage after passage, which to the ordinary, well-educated, English reader, clerical as well as lay, may have hitherto seemed but a maze of beautiful sentences, receives a living interest from Mr Smith's remarkable powers of lucid exposition and eloquent illustration.

As is to be expected from the character and purpose of the series to which it does such credit, the book cannot be estimated as a commentary by comparison with the more advanced works of Delitzsch, Cheyne, or Dillmann. It possesses, however, very high value as an exposition. The careful analysis which is given of the contents of these chapters, coupled with the vigorous and literal English translation from the Hebrew, constantly supplies a hint of correct exegesis, where the limits of space prevent any exhaustive treatment of difficulties. We come across scholarly disquisitions upon Hebrew words of disputed meaning or of special significance—*e.g.*, 'i (p. 109), *r'ishonoth* (p. 121), *ssadtiq* (pp. 215-230), *mishpat* (pp. 299-300); and in numerous instances the commentator's command over the original has prompted him to a skilful and felicitous elucidation of the meaning—*e.g.*, the explanations of "I have created thee," &c. (p. 240), "He shall not cry nor lift up" (p. 303). Readers who have not access to the larger and more learned works may rest assured that in Mr Smith's treatment of a passage they will find the utterance of sound scholarship put forth after careful investigation of the best authorities, from Calvin and Vitringa to Dillmann and Driver.

It would fall outside the scope of a commentary intended for practical purposes to enter with great minuteness into

questions of criticism. But the whole treatment of these chapters of Isaiah must depend upon the view taken of their date and structure. In dealing with these questions Mr Smith deserves all credit both for the management of his argument and for the tone in which he conducts it. He devotes his first chapter to the discussion of the date of chapters xl.-lxvi. He confines himself to reasons, which any intelligent English reader will be able to appreciate, for denying the Isaianic authorship of this section, and for ascribing the greater portion of it to the latter end of the Babylonian Exile. We need not here follow up his defence of a position, which, among the best scholars, is indeed now scarcely disputed, and is rapidly passing out of the sphere of biblical controversy. But we may notice an interesting answer to the question, "Why should a series of prophecies written in the Exile be attached to the authentic works of Isaiah?" He does not, as some of his predecessors, look for a solution of the difficulty in the error of a scribe, or in "the custom which ancient writers practised of filling up any part of a volume that remained blank when one book was finished with the writing of any other that would fit the place. The first of these reasons is too accidental, the second too artificial in the face of the undoubted sympathy which exists among all parts of the Book of Isaiah. . . ." His own view he expresses on pp. 23, 24; and the following extract will give the conclusions at which he has himself arrived. "Although our prophet has *new things to publish*, his first business is to show that *the former things have come to pass*, especially the Exile, the survival of a Remnant, the sending of a Deliverer, the doom of Babylon. What more natural than to attach to his utterances those prophecies, of which the events he pointed to were the vindication and fulfilment? The attachment was the more easy to arrange that the authentic prophecies had not passed from Isaiah's hand in a fixed form. . . . But these facts—that our chapters are concerned, as no other Scriptures are, with the fulfilment of previous prophecies; that it is the prophecies of Isaiah which are the original and fullest prediction of the events they are busy with; and that the form, in which Isaiah's prophecies are handed down, did not preclude additions

of this kind to them—contribute very evident reasons why Isa. xl.-lxvi., though written in the Exile, should be attached to Isa. i.-xxxix." (p. 24).

On the more complicated critical question, relating to the unity of authorship in these chapters, Mr Smith gives an independent judgment. We feel sure he is quite right in emphasising the unity of the structure and arrangement rather than of the origin and composition of these chapters. At the same time, we are glad and interested to find that he has been able to recognise the homogeneous character of the main body of the prophecy (xl.-lv.). In dealing with the concluding chapters, he speaks with due caution. He inclines to the view that the definitely exilic passages are lvi. 1-8, lviii., lx.-lxii., and possibly lxv. : lxiii., lxiv., and lxvi. he ascribes to the period of the Return, before the rebuilding of the Temple; while the only pre-exilic sections which he acknowledges are lvi. 9-lvii., and partially lix. In accounting for the presence of these pre-exilic passages, he gives as his "total impression" "that some prophet of the late Exile, and probably the one whom we have been following, collected these reminiscences of his people's sin in the days of their freedom, in order to remind them, before they went back again to political responsibility, why it was they were punished, and how apt they were to go astray" (p. 409). We think he makes a good case for his view; and without committing ourselves to entire agreement, we very heartily welcome a statement of opinion so independent in character, and so happily devoid of arbitrariness.

In the study of Isa. xl.-lxvi., the English reader has the utmost difficulty in tracing the connection of thought: scenes of joy and gloom, of bright forecast and keen rebuke, chase one another in rapid succession. Our author, however, succeeds in tracing out clearly and felicitously the continuity of the prophetic message. At the outset he insists on the necessity of keeping in view "that the immediate problem which the prophet had before him was twofold. It was political, and it was spiritual. . . . This twofold division of the prophet's problem . . . will make clear to us the different currents of the sacred argument, which flow sometimes through

and through one another, and sometimes singly and in succession ; and it will give us a plan for grouping the twenty-seven chapters very nearly, if not quite, in the order in which they lie " (Introd., p. xiii.). The arrangement he adopts is very simple. Book i., after disposing of the question of date and authorship of the whole section, is devoted to a rapid and brilliant summary both of the events which led to the Exile, and of the position of the Jews during the Exile. Book ii., "The Lord's Deliverance," is practically a homiletic analysis of chapters xl.-xlviii., concluding with a chapter on the prophet's use of the word "Righteousness." Book iii., or "The Servant of the Lord," is entirely occupied with a discussion of the passages in which "the Servant" is spoken of, and the position to be assigned to him in the theology of the Old Testament. Book iv., or "The Restoration," deals with the concluding chapters on the same lines as had been followed in Book ii., but not so fully and with obvious signs of the necessity for condensation. It will thus be seen that Book i. is historical, while Book iii. is given up to the consideration of a topic mainly spiritual in character. In Books ii. and iv. the historical and the spiritual are closely intermingled, the appearance of Cyrus in the one case, and the imminent or accomplished Return in the other, supplying the theme of contemporary historical interest.

As a contribution to our knowledge of Old Testament theology, Mr Smith's work seems to us to be especially valuable for its delineation of the intense reality and living *Spiritual* force of true Hebrew monotheism. All through his book he makes this thought live and move ; but perhaps nowhere so powerfully as in the chapters, "God : a Sacrament," "God : an Argument from History," "The Passion of God," "Bearing or Borne." His chapter on "Righteousness" will be found very useful to students, and will open up a new world of thought to those who are apt to regard such words as vague religious common-places. He draws out the distinction between the righteousness of God and the righteousness of Israel, and shows how Israel's righteousness is of two kinds, "allied and necessary to one another, yet logically distinct,—the one a becoming righteous through the exercise of virtue,

the other a being shown to be righteous by the voice of history."

Though it might be enough to say that the discussion of "the Servant of the LORD" is not unworthy of the great importance of the subject, we are especially glad to observe how clearly he demonstrates the progress of the development of the idea. The principle of his exposition on this point may well be summarised in the opening words of the interesting chapter on "The Service of God and Man." "We now understand, whom to regard as the Servant of the Lord. The Service of God was a commission to witness and prophesy for God upon earth, made out at first in the name of the entire nation Israel. When their unfitness as a whole became apparent, it was delegated to a portion of them. But as there were added to its duties of prophecy, those of martyrdom and atonement for the sins of the people, our prophet, it would seem, saw it focussed in the person of an individual" (p. 290). Considering the limits within which he had to work, we believe the treatment of the all-important passage, chaps. lii. 13-liii., will bear inspection as a good example of the author's best work, of his sympathy with the spiritual problem, his scholarship, and his undeniable oratorical force. We would call attention to his healthy and sensible exposition of "the vicarious suffering" of the Servant (pp. 353, 354); to the protest against excessive literalism in the identification of "the Servant" with our Lord (pp. 367, 383); and to the very admirable passages, in which it is contended that in Christ alone the true interpretation of this passage is to be sought and found (*e.g.*, pp. 289, 370, 436).

Although we have already exceeded our limits for this notice, a few words remain to be said upon three points of interest.

(1.) The *writing*, as in the former volume, often rises to a pitch of real eloquence. We may instance the description of Babylon (p. 56), the metaphor introducing the quotation from Xenophanes (p. 124), and the eulogy on the power of speech (pp. 302-306), as passages which particularly struck us. The writer's sympathy both with the poetry of the prophet, *e.g.*, pp. 52, 341, 405, 431, and with the surroundings of Oriental

life, *e.g.*, pp. 247, 361, 389, 416, 429, enhance the pleasure of his style. His skill in the use of brilliant illustration, *e.g.*, from Milton's "Areopagitica" (p. 258), or from recent events (pp. 259, 437), is often exercised with telling effect. So far as the English style is concerned, there is perhaps a little danger of using too freely poetic expressions, such as "their rally and confidence" (p. 83), "her *restoral* to her station" (p. 220), "a more *clamant* conscience" (p. 290).

(2.) The *translation* makes no pretence at being an elegant version. It aims at giving the reader a true idea of the exact meaning of the words. For this purpose the Hebrew order of the words is often retained, and the attempt is made both to reproduce the rhythm of the original (*e.g.*, pp. 153-155) and to give the effect of the prophet's use of alliteration (*e.g.*, pp. 315, 341). We are inclined to think that the sacrifice to literalness is too great when it gives us "on-ahead" (p. 119), "orthodox" (p. 99), and "an egre of anger" (p. 401, fortunately with an explanatory note). But as a whole the version is strong and forcible, while its accuracy and its unconventional form cannot fail to be suggestive and useful to the English reader.

(3.) The definitely *homiletic* element deserves fuller treatment than we can devote to it here. Some of the chapters are models of continuous exegesis. The interest is not suffered to flag; modern phases of religious doubt and difficulty are encountered with weapons drawn from the armoury of the Hebrew prophet; like a true teacher our author elicits from the Word of God "things new and old."

It is almost a common-place now-a-days to assert that the great need of Christian congregations, that of continuous Bible teaching, is rarely satisfied. To be scholarly without being pedantic, to be at all thorough without being wearisomely diffuse, to adapt the teaching of whole sections of Scripture to modern spiritual needs without being superficial or sensational—these are difficulties, of which all of us, whether teachers or taught, have had some bitter experience. Where many have failed, Mr Adam Smith is conspicuously successful. And the secret of his success is to be found, not in his scholarship nor in his eloquence, but in the

union of these indispensable qualities with living sympathy in the modern needs of men and with the intensest realisation that "the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy" (Rev. xix. 10). His constant reference of the prophetic teaching to the expression of its highest development in the New Testament is free from the common fault of a forced and servile literalism; and the religious instruction he gives is based upon a natural and reasonable interpretation of the text (*e.g.*, pp. 186, 188, 366, 374, &c.).

Mr Smith's tendency is probably in the direction of diffuseness. But he has also the gift of conveying a great deal in a short sentence, of which we can here give but three illustrations; "History is strewn with the errors of those who have sought from God something else than Himself" (p. 150); "If we pray much for a man, he will surely become too sacred to be made the amusement of society or the food of our curiosity, or of our pride" (p. 204); "The unfulfilled prophecy of Israel is the conscience of Christianity" (p. 289).

To clergymen, to teachers, and to all thoughtful students of Scripture, this book will be one of very great service and value. To those, too, who are even now under the impression that modern Biblical Criticism is necessarily honey-combed with scepticism, we very earnestly commend its perusal. Those gifts of ripe scholarship and historical criticism, with which the Divine Spirit has enriched our age, are here consecrated to the service of the Crucified and Risen Messiah. Of His Divine Presence the writer seems never to lose sight. If this were the only merit in this work, it were indeed sufficient to make it rank high in our estimation, for it supplies one more instance, if such were needed, of the union of modern methods in Biblical interpretation with the purest spiritual faith and the simplest Christian devotion.

HERBERT E. RYLE.

Can the Old Faith Live with the New ?

By the Rev. George Matheson, M.A., D.D. Third Edition. Edinburgh and London : W. Blackwood & Sons. Cr. 8vo. Price 7s. 6d.

The Psalmist and the Scientist.

By the Rev. George Matheson, D.D. New and Cheaper Edition. Same Publishers. Cr. 8vo. Price 5s.

Sacred Songs.

By the Rev. G. Matheson, D.D. New and Cheaper Edition. Same Publishers. Cr. 8vo. Price 2s. 6d.

THE first qualification of an effective apologist is good temper, and the second is a hopeful tone of mind. In the books before us Dr Matheson shows that he possesses those qualifications in a pre-eminent degree. His sunny, genial nature never fails him; he neither declaims nor scolds; his most serious arguments are enlivened by touches of raillery and by kindly concessions to his opponents which prevent all offence. Besides, he has a fearless confidence in the truth of what he has to say, and in the success of his ingenious reasonings, which draws even the credulous reader along with him from stage to stage. Both in those qualifications and in others of more solid worth, Dr Matheson has made a marked advance since the publication of his essay on the "Growth of the Spirit of Christianity." Indeed those volumes entitle him to a high place among living apologists.

Can the Old Faith Live with the New? is a treatise, or rather a series of essays, on the Problem of Evolution and Revelation. Dr Matheson's aim is to show that the adoption of the Evolution theory is consistent with adherence to the ancient faith, or, in his own language, "to find a place for the religious consciousness within the sphere of nature." He nowhere defines the "ancient faith;" but he means thereby the religion of the Bible, which he regards as an organic whole, and the expression of a coherent plan. The special doctrines with which he deals are Creation, the Divine Origin of Life, the Fall of Man, Providence, the Incarnation, the Work of the Spirit, the Soul's Communion with God, and the Immortality of the Soul. Although he seeks to express those doctrines in terms of modern thought, it may be said generally that such re-statement does not involve any departure from the received faith of Christendom.

His method, which he expressly distinguishes from that of Professor Drummond and Mr J. J. Murphy, is analytic. Assuming as proven the facts upon which Evolutionism rests, he analyses the grounds upon which those facts are supposed to be antitheistic in their teaching, and occupies himself in proving that they do not countenance an agnostic or a materialistic theory of the universe.

Not contented to show that the dogmatism of scientists in matters of religion is *ultra vires*, he contends that their admissions and explanations may fairly be summoned and retained as witnesses against them. Every branch of science, and still more the sciences viewed collectively, recognise the presence of an "eternal something" in the universe, and the place assigned to that "eternal something" is the place occupied by the theist's God. The belief that nature once did what she cannot now do, is virtually belief in the supernatural. Experience teaches that nature, *i.e.*, visible and tangible nature, is inadequate to account for her own existence. The Evolutionist is perpetually driven back upon a persistent but inscrutable Presence, of which phenomena are only manifestations or shadows; and the question is, whether the attributes and actions which Christian theism ascribes to that Presence are inconsistent with any proved facts, or whether, on the contrary, the Bible does not lead us beyond the "barred gate" which faces science, by a path which science itself indicates. In other words, religion is not only the complement but the corollary of science.

With a boldness fitted to rouse the wrath of Mr G. H. Romanes, Dr Matheson grapples with the Biblical doctrine of creation. Creationism does not imply that matter ever had a beginning, but only that it is an emanation from the Creator, which in all its phases must be traced to His influence, as every ray of light must be traced to the sun. Indeed, the Book of Genesis agrees with modern science in placing the origin of matter outside history, and in beginning the story of creation with the movement of the Spirit of God, *i.e.*, with the influence of Force upon Matter. Just as Evolutionism ascribes all to a primal Force, Biblical Theism ascribes all to a primal Spirit. The Six Days' Creation was conducted upon Evolution principles. The growth of one day's work out of another by no means excludes the doctrine that an essential factor in the growth was the intervention of Divine Power. In fact, the Evolutionist, so far as he holds that one power dominates in all changes, confirms the belief of the Theist in the creative omnipotence and omnipresence of God. The Book of Genesis is at one with Professor Huxley in the statement that there once was a time when animal vitality upon the earth's surface was impossible, and that the "vital spark" was due to the working of the Eternal Force. Balancing most ingeniously the Elohist with the Jehovist narrative, Dr Matheson shows that there was no "leap," but only a step in the creation of man. If it is true that life in its lower grades must originate in life and not in matter, there is no new principle involved in ascribing to Life Eternal the origin of the highest form of natural life. So far, Dr Matheson's argument commands assent; and the agility and acuteness of his reasoning are notable.

It is otherwise with his exposition of the doctrine of the Fall. The *via media* which he indicates is one in which both Evolutionist and Theist will probably decline to follow him. The life breathed into man's nostrils was, after all, it seems, generically different from the life that previously existed upon earth, being potentially but not actually immortal. The advent of it constituted a dualism in human nature, and involved a new creative departure, which began in strife. Death did not originate with the Fall. Previously it had been due to the absence of holiness, and had, therefore, in the case of beings which were incapable of holiness, involved no guilt. But as soon as the higher life of man was degraded by the temporary triumph of flesh over spirit, death assumed a new aspect, being now the wages of sin; and thenceforward immortality belonged to man only as a gift.

Dr Matheson apparently fails to see that such an explanation is suicidal, and that the *deus ex machina* which he has introduced leaves matters where they were, after having destroyed the inherent immortality of the soul. Indeed, at this point in his argument he falls into that hopeless dualism from which there is no escape, owing to the fact that, unconsciously perhaps, he has drawn a rigid line between the spiritual and the natural. It is true that he harks back, and declares that unfallen humanity had "the seed of immortality in himself," but the idea is not developed, and the apologetic value of his *uniat* is greatly impaired. It reduces itself to this, that, if science requires to posit an inscrutable force in order to account for the lower life, the same Force may have created, withdrawn, and recreated life of a higher and an eternal kind. It is scarcely worthy of so competent an apologist to press the statement that at first life only entered man's nostrils, and that it subsequently permeated his whole nature.

Dr Matheson is on far broader and surer ground when he faces the difficulties in connection with Personal Immortality. With firm and well-measured argument he shows that the principle of Immortality is indubitable, and is recognised even by those who predicate it only of Force, Nature, Law, or Matter. It is true that amidst the permanence of principle every separate phenomenon is subject to death, yet the individual life is not thereby excluded from that immortality which is secured by the indwelling in the second Adam of the primal power. Death is not annihilation of force; of this the doctrine of Conservation assures us; and if the existence of vitality as a special force can be proved, its permanence or continuity may be inferred. The *sense* of personal identity is admitted by the most materialistic enquirers; and it can matter little whether that sense be original or derived, for to an idealist like Dr Matheson the sense of personal identity is equivalent to its reality. Now, the persist-

ence of personal identity amidst the changes of the human body and its environment is obviously correlative to the persistence of the great Primal Power. The recognition by human consciousness of the inscrutability of that Power proves an identity of essence ; so that the life by which man perceives his own finitude is *pro tanto* infinite and immortal.

This argument is not novel ; it dates from the *Phaedo* of Plato ; but the lines of it require to be drawn for every generation ; and Dr Matheson, after drawing them vigorously and cogently, indicates suggestively that the self-surrender of the individual soul, and its incorporation in the system of the universe, far from destroying personal identity, raises the individual to his highest dignity ; his life is saved by being lost. In the concluding chapter he points out that Christianity itself, with its persistent spiritual power, is an illustration or rather a portion of the history of Evolution, analogous to the persistence of consciousness in the individual life.

The Psalmist and the Scientist, although traversing part of the same ground, is a deeper, broader, finer book. The idea of harmonising Biblical doctrines with Evolution has given place to an effort to vindicate the claims of religious sentiment. While intellectual convictions must ultimately control religious feelings, "that which appears to be dogmatically false may be sentimentally true." Although old forms may have perished, the religious sentiment which they embodied may survive. Has this been the case ? Are theistic sentiments superannuated by the modern conception of nature ? Those are the questions which Dr Matheson proposes to answer.

He takes the Psalter, "the prayer-book of the Jewish nation," as the largest and most comprehensive repository of the religious sentiment, and seeks to measure its dominating convictions by the rules of natural science. He neither asserts nor assumes the inspiration of the Psalms. He does not refer, except incidentally, to the epochs at which they were composed. They "show no evolution," for they belong to the unchangeable and eternal things of the heart ; and the convictions which they express belong to the unchangeable and eternal things of the intellect, which scientific results have not affected.

The Psalmist, for instance, bases his hopeful yearnings after God upon the fact that God "satisfies the desire of every living thing." Does not the Scientist find that every organism has its proper environment ? Can the soul's thirst for God be the only one of Nature's longings which has no reality to correspond to it ? Man's spiritual nature finds no satisfaction in the material or outward. Is this the one definite desire which shall never be satisfied ? Even granting, for the sake of argument, that the religious faculty is now useless and extinct, its former existence would justify us in infer-

ring that it once had a proper environment. Surely it is a contradiction in terms to say that the Eternal One, who formerly satisfied it, has ceased to be! Again, if the environment proper to a thirsty soul is "Nature," it must be living Nature, Nature with all the attributes of Deity.

Similarly, the intelligence of the creature presupposes the intelligence of a creator; he that formed the ear must hear; he that formed the eye must see; the effect must resemble the cause. J. S. Mill's familiar objection, that the cook who prepares hot soup must, on this principle, have been made of pepper, falls to the ground, for the cause of the soup is not the woman, but the woman at work with certain ingredients, of which one is pepper. Nothing could be more acute or persuasive than Dr Matheson's vindication of this position.

Thence he turns to the origin of life, ascribed by the Psalmist to the breath or inspiration of God, and shows that Professor Tyndall ascribes spiritual qualities to his "original fire-cloud," and that even Haeckel's "matter has a mental side." Life has not been generated by matter; at the most, matter is its concomitant. Although life develops through contact with matter, matter does not give it its growth; and as for the destruction of life it is only an interruption of the relation between subject and object, which warrants no conclusion with regard to the future of the subject when it finds other objects. The Psalmist's doctrine of the Little-ness and Greatness of man, as expressed in the eighth Psalm, is equivalent to the scientific truth, that the whole exists for the sake of every one of its parts. By telling me that I come from darkness, you rob me of nothing, for God Himself is in the darkness; it was He who fashioned my members in continuance, when as yet there was none of them. Just as the Scientist rests his faith upon eternal Force and Law, the Psalmist finds his ground for confidence, not in his knowledge of God, but in God's knowledge of him. Psalmist and Scientist alike are optimists, and their optimism rests, not on blindness to the world's waste and suffering, but on the conviction that these contribute to a higher and fuller development. The Scientist believes in the survival of the fittest, the Psalmist in the survival of the most favoured; but, in the view of both, survival depends upon the power of spiritual endurance and upon obedience to the law of sacrifice and self-surrender.

This book, too, closes with some suggestions about Personal Immortality, in which Dr Matheson seems to be less impeded by the weight of dualism. God is in the Psalmist's soul amidst its weakness and sinfulness. Though "a beast before Him," he is "continually with Him;" and hence he knows that he will not only be guided by the Divine counsel, but afterwards be received

into glory. Precisely as the Force of Mr Spencer is immanent in matter and therefore is persistent, the Divinity within the Psalmist constitutes his personal deity. He has one path because he is one with God. Christ abiding in the Christian is his eternal life.

If Dr Matheson would recast his earlier book in the spirit of that idealistic pantheism which lends eloquent conclusiveness to the close of the *Psalmist and the Scientist*, these two volumes would constitute an entirely trustworthy reply to the shallow dogmatism of pseudo-science. Even as they stand we lay them down with thankfulness, and it is almost ungracious, considering Dr Matheson's disclaimer, to express regret that the constructive results are somewhat incomplete.

We cannot close this notice without referring, however briefly, to the deep and fervent faith which pervades the writer's arguments. If explanation of his spiritual stand-point were required, it might be found in the little volume of *Sacred Songs* issued this year by the same publishers. Amidst some literary inequality, these reveal a most gentle and musical spirit which finds its chief delight in "making the rough places plain," and "revealing the glory of the Lord." It is difficult to select a fair example; but we quote two stanzas from a poem entitled "The Secret," because they show us the root of Dr Matheson's apologetics:—

It lies so low, so low in my heart,
At the foot of all else 'tis found :
To all other things it is the rest,
But its own support is the ground.
By the breath of its native life it lives,
It shines alone by the light it gives.

O Peace, unsolved by the things of earth,
Thy secret has made me great,
If I cannot trace the place of thy birth
There must be a higher gate.
There must be somewhere a hidden door,
Where tidings come in from the heavenly shore.

ALEX. R. MACEWEN.

Exposé de Théologie Systématique.

Par A. Gretillat, Professeur de Théologie à la Faculté Indépendante de Neuchâtel: tome premier, Propédeutique, 1885: tome troisième, Dogmatique, I. Théologie Spéciale, Cosmologie, 1888: tome quatrième, Dogmatique, II. Sotériologie, Eschatologie, 1890. Paris, Librairie Fischbacher. Fourth Vol., pp. 640: Price Fr. 10.

SWITZERLAND has, since the publication of Calvin's epoch-making *Institution de la Religion Chrétienne* (also issued in Latin as *Insti-*

tutio Religionis Christianæ), given but few doctrinal systems of note to the world; hence Professor Gretillat's work is phenomenal. It is also notable for two other reasons; on the one hand, because of its Biblical rather than speculative character; and on the other hand, because of its persistent attack upon Ritschl and the Ritschli-*aner*. M. Gretillat fights tooth and nail with the Positivist or New Kantian tendency in theology associated with the name of Ritschl, a tendency which has its followers of name in Switzerland as well as in Germany. Indeed one of the most interesting bits of recent theological correspondence is a brilliant letter to M. Gretillat by Professor Lobstein, the well-known pupil of Ritschl, followed by a no less brilliant reply by M. Gretillat, which correspondence may be read in the Lausanne *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie* for the years 1888, 1889.

In appreciating any System of Doctrine it is always desirable to obtain clear views at the outset as to,—first, what the author regards as theology,—second, what method of research seems to the author the best,—third, what aim the author places before himself,—and fourth, how the author maps out his subject.

First, then, Professor Gretillat *defines* Theology as “the science which has for object the Christian fact,” and means, he says, by the Christian fact “Christianity and the Christian Faith.” Let this point be observed. This system does not pretend to deal with the knowledge of God and of Divine things, from whatever source such knowledge may be gained, whether reason, or nature, or the ethnic religions; the point of view is expressly restricted to the *Christian* fact, to the *Christian* religion, and as subsequently appears, to the *Christian Religion as taught in the Bible*. The Theology inquired into is a Biblical Theology.

Secondly, Professor Gretillat describes his *method* as *empirico-synthetical*: for, as he says, “every method which is truly scientific may be characterized as empirico-synthetical (*empirique-synthétique*), *empirical*, inasmuch as it is based upon an observation of facts; *synthetical*, inasmuch as it aspires to the comprehension of these facts by the conception of the law which governs them.” In one word, that is to say, M. Gretillat's method of research is induction, the inductive study of Scripture.

Thirdly, the great *object* our author has in view is to present the *growth* of the Biblical revelations; in other words, seeing that those revelations gather around the one fact of man's salvation, the object is to present the truth concerning salvation as taught by the several Biblical revelations, duly recognizing the development of those revelations. “The special task of theology, such as we conceive it, is to answer the question (what must man do to be saved?), by interrogating upon this subject the historical and particular revelations

which have concerned themselves either with the preparation or the accomplishment of salvation in humanity." In other words, the dominant conception of this system is not the Idea of God, as in Calvin, or the Idea of Man, as in Augustine, or the Idea of Faith, as in Schleiermacher, or the Idea of the God-man, as in Dörner and in those modern systems which call themselves Christo-centric, but the Idea of Salvation.

Fourthly, the *divisions* of treatment adopted follow from the definition already given. The whole system consists first of an Introduction, and next of an Exposition of Doctrines. The Introduction deals with three subjects, Methodology, Apologetics, Canonics. Consistently enough. Theology being the science of the Christian Fact, what is meant by the science of the Christian fact has to be unfolded, and this gives us Methodology. Further, theology being the science of the Christian Fact, the proof that the so-called Christian fact is fact has to be undertaken, and this gives us Apologetics. Further, the Christian fact having been transmitted both orally and by documents, the credibility of this oral tradition and these written documents calls for examination, and this gives us Canonics. As for the division of the ensemble of doctrine, that is mapped out by our author under the headings of Theology Special, or the Biblical Doctrine of God,—Cosmology, or the Biblical Doctrine of the Primitive Creation,—Soteriology, or the Biblical Doctrine of the Pneumatic Creation in the First Advent of Christ,—and Eschatology, or the Biblical Doctrine of the Physical Creation at the End of Time.

On M. Gretillat's treatment of Methodology or Encyclopædia little needs be added. It is divided as is usual into four principal disciplines: exegesis, systematic theology, historical theology and practical theology. But it also includes a preliminary and mixed discipline,—Sacred Criticism, (or the general and particular introduction to the books of the Old and New Testaments,)—and an auxiliary discipline (of a character equally mixed, and effecting the transition from exegesis to systematic theology,) viz., Biblical Theology. During the exposition of these several branches of theology, incidental discussions of value are met with, of which I should like to signalize the criticism of the Scientific Method of Schleiermacher, and the Rôle of Faith and of Reason in Theological Labour. This volume also contains a useful Bibliography, which however is singularly lacking in knowledge of English and American works, and which contents itself with barely naming desirable books, without further characterization.

Manifestly, turning to the system of doctrine itself, the whole stress of the exposition rests upon the Apologetics and Canonics, as the remainder of the Introduction is designated. This section of the system has, alas, not yet appeared. That it will be a section of

singular interest may be inferred from the Propositions Borrowed from Canonics with which the Dogmatics is prefaced ; which propositions show that the difficult subject of Inspiration is fully treated, as is the no less difficult subject of the Criteria of Canonicity. May the learned author speedily be able to give us this missing volume ! I remember, however, the touching words, at the commencement of the last volume published, which show that the author has recently passed through a season of dire bereavement. "These mysteries of the ways of God," he tells us, "the fringes only of which we can consider here below," a beloved daughter, in her twentieth year, has within the last few months come to "understand."

Nor does our space permit expansion upon the volume which treats of Theology Special and Cosmology. Let a few points only be noted. There is, for instance, an excellent survey of the history of doctrinal study, with a careful description of modern thought under the headings of the Tendencies Liberal, Creedal, Critical, Biblical and Positivist. So too the study of the Divine Attributes is noteworthy. And probably the lengthy examination of the Doctrine of Predestination is the finest part of the volume. Under Cosmology the Doctrines of Angels and of Sin are treated.

However, it is upon Soteriology that the author concentrates his strength : for, as he says, "Soteriology is, as we have already announced in the Methodology and in the Prolegomena (to Dogmatics), the central part of Dogmatics, being the *raison d'être* of theology itself. Christianity is the religion of salvation, or it is nothing. Theology is the science of salvation, or it is nothing ; and as evil has appeared from the first upon the scene of humanity essentially as a fact and not as an error, so the remedy has equally appeared in Jesus Christ as the fact of a salvation and not essentially as an antithesis of doctrine." The passage, by the way, is a fair specimen of the author's style, lucid, readable, with an occasional telling aphorism.

Soteriology, according to Professor Gretillat, is subdivided into two sections, treating, the one of the preparation of salvation in the Old Covenant, the other, of the accomplishment of salvation in the first advent of Christ. Further, the period of preparation divides into two main sub-periods, "that of primitive *universalism*, in which the preparation of salvation is made in and regarding humanity as a whole, without effective distinction of families and races ; it extends from the Fall to the Call of Abraham, and is divided by the Noachian covenant. The other is the period of *particularism*. In this period of particularism "divine revelations and operations preparatory to salvation are restricted to the limits of one particular race, or rather of one particular people. This particularist period in its turn, which extends from the call of Abraham to

the death of Christ, comprises three principal eras, the Patriarchal, the Mosaic, and the Mosaico-prophetic." Such a division of the subject gives a tolerable insight into the author's mode of treatment, and, be it added, each period and era is most suggestively studied, the gradation especially of Messianic prophecy being very carefully outlined, and the educational value of the Law being most instructively analysed under its *constitutive* and *restitutive* and *transitional* elements. Advancing in due course to the accomplishment of salvation, this is treated under the two headings of the Person of Christ and the Work of Christ. Again, the Work of Christ is regarded from three points of view, viz., the Prophetical, the Priestly, and the Regal Work. And yet again, the Priestly work is regarded from three points of view, viz., first, the necessity of a propitiation in order to obtain favour for sinful man, or the Doctrine of Satisfaction is considered; next, the accomplishment by Christ of the work of satisfaction, or the Doctrine of Substitution, is examined; and, thirdly, the individual appropriation of Christ's work in satisfaction, or the Doctrine of Justification, is reviewed. Once more let it be added that the whole inquiry deserves close and prolonged study.

The Eschatology is the least satisfactory portion of the whole, and shows very little sense of those perplexing difficulties which, whilst they are peculiarly appreciated by present thinkers, should at the same time quicken a more earnest and minute and balanced investigation of the related statements of Scripture.

On the whole, let it be frankly acknowledged that M. Gretillat's doctrinal system is a distinct and valuable addition to systematic studies. But at the same time, let it be definitely borne in mind that M. Gretillat has only touched one part of the doctrinal task of the present. His, as has been shown, is a Biblical Theology only. But there are other sources of revelation besides the Bible; and it is the specific task of this age to examine and colligate all the facts of all varieties of revelation. The New Theology, towards which theologians are steadily thinking their way, must be a science of religion of all kinds, as well as of the Christian religion. The wider, the international Theology, must consist of two parts, each of which has larger scope than the Introduction and System of M. Gretillat. On the one hand there must be a science of foundations, a Fundamental Theology, the task of which is to determine the sources of religious knowledge available, and their relative value. On the other hand, there must be a science of superstructure, a Doctrinal Theology, the task of which is, under the guidance of the principles of Fundamental Theology, to build up the facts afforded by all forms of revelation, with due attention to relation and proportion, into one compact doctrinal structure. Towards

the Biblical section of such a doctrinal system, such a system as Gretillat's is a great assistance, but more cannot be said.

ALFRED CAVE.

Revelation and the Bible ; a Popular Exposition for the Times.

By Rev. W. D. Thomson, M.A. Edinburgh : Macniven & Wallace. 1890. Cr. 8vo, pp. 270. Price 3s. 6d.

THE aim of this excellent little book, as the author tells us, is to assist in the dissemination of enlightened views in the popular mind regarding the Bible. In particular, it aims at reconciling the discrepancies and inaccuracies and other forms of imperfection found in the Bible with its Divine character and claims, and with the supernatural element in the facts of the history in which the Revelation was originally embodied. The author represents "the position of those who, while firmly believing in the Divine authority of the Bible, not only admit the existence of its human errors and imperfections, but see clearly, and maintain that the admission of these is necessary in the interests of the Bible, in view of the hostile criticism to which it is now being subjected" (p. 6). The book is intended for popular use, and is written with a clearness and fullness of statement that carries with it a convincing force. It is full of sound sense, and the sobriety of judgment and candour that characterise his treatment of the subject throughout are most admirable. There are aspects of the subject that are not treated, and there is not much that is positively new in the book. The object of the author has been simply to set forth the general conclusions on which most scholars are agreed in a style that will commend them to the acceptance of the unlearned readers, and in this object he has been eminently successful. He starts with the familiar distinction between the Revelation of God and the record of it in the Bible, claiming, indeed, inspiration for the record as well as for the truth revealed, but maintaining, for all that, the reality of the distinction, and its importance to a proper understanding of the subject. In the first half of the book he discusses the relation in which the revelation stands to the record. The object of Revelation is to give us a knowledge of God that will possess a practical value for men. This has been conveyed through facts of history and their inspired interpretation. The function of the record is to make us acquainted with these facts, and to bring us into direct contact with them. "To use the record, then, with a view to spiritual life, one needs to be careful not to use it as in itself an end. The end for which it has been

provided lies above and beyond itself. Its outlook is ever in the direction of God, of Christ, of the world, of unseen and Eternal Reality. Thither it is ever pointing us on, saying, Behold, understand, believe, and live. Nor has the Bible ever served its own end until it has led one beyond itself" (pp. 97, 98). Dealing with the discrepancies in the reports of Christ's works and miracles, &c., he shows they are not such as throw doubt on any fact that forms a vital part of the revelation. "Whether the eyes of two men were opened at Jericho, or only one, the Divine compassion was revealed all the same, and that is what the miracle, however it may have happened, teaches" (p. 191).

In the second part of his book the author enters on a study of the general character of the Bible, pointing out that owing to its double authorship we have two sets of phenomena to reckon with. It combines the results of both divine and human thinking, action, and design (p. 168). Not only does the spirit of God speak to us in it, but man speaks as well. It records many actions and words that are contrary to the truth and righteousness of God. All the contents of the Bible are not of the same absolute value. In forming an intelligent conception of the Bible we must take cognisance of both these elements that belong to it. Just as things are true of man viewed as mortal that are not true of him when viewed as immortal, and things may be predicated of Jesus as the Son of man that cannot be predicated of Him as Son of God, and yet both belong to Him in the oneness of His Personality, so things are true of the Bible as having come from God that are not true of it as having come from man. It is, for example, *perfect* as regards the revelation it contains, and in relation to its own purpose; while it is *imperfect* as far as inaccuracies are concerned that have only an incidental connection with what is vital. Again, the Bible is *sufficient* both as a revelation and as a record of that revelation, for in it we learn all that we need to know about God and salvation; while, in certain senses, it may be regarded as *insufficient*. Its inspiration is at once *Plenary* and *Partial*. The truth it contains is from the inspiration of the spirit of truth, and the inspiration is plenary with respect to everything for which inspiration was necessary. The Bible is a record of special acts of Divine self-manifestation which called for inspiration that they might be understood and recorded, and the inspiration is plenary up to the full requirements of the task (p. 225). But it is also partial: it does not extend to the whole of the human element in it: "while never absent where its absence can be proved to be hurtful to the character or to the ends of revelation," there are side regions in the Bible into which inspiration does not go. Once more, the Bible is infallible in "matters of salvation, faith, and life, but not as to all the matters dealt with in

the Scriptures, many of these being incidental to the main substance and objects of the Word of God" (p. 247). It is infallible as to its peculiar message and all it professes to be and do. There is nothing fallible in the record of any fact "in which any item of revelation is commended": but it *is* fallible as to certain circumstantial details, the accuracy or inaccuracy of which in no way affects the truth of revelation. That this is the doctrine of the Westminster Confession of Faith is evident from the fact that the persuasion of the absolute truth and Divine authority of the Word of God is hence based on the inward work of the Holy Spirit. Now as the latter can apply only to the truths that embody the Divine revelation, only those can be recognised as infallibly true, and its infallible authority cannot extend to other statements in the Bible that are only incidentally connected with revelation. "The spirit of truth does not inwardly settle for us the question whether the eyes of two blind men were opened at Jericho or the eyes of only one man. . . . Therefore all such incidental statements in the Bible are to be held as not included in any definition of the infallible truth of Scripture, when the definition expressly limits the truth defined to that order of statements alone, the truth embodied in which it is the special function of the spirit of truth to reveal in the heart and verify to the judgment and conscience" (pp. 261, 262). This brief account will convey a general idea of the scope of the argument. Most will feel, on the perusal of the book, that the conclusions which are enforced with so much reasonableness, commend themselves as true, as beyond dispute. There may be room on special points for a difference of view. It is difficult, it seems to me, to maintain an inspiration of the record as distinct from that of the truth revealed, when the old theory is abandoned which was thought to be necessary in order to secure in a supernatural way the accuracy of the narrative. The author admits that the sacred historians were left to the ordinary means for informing themselves of the truth of the matters they recorded, and that they were not supernaturally protected from error. If so, while inspiration of course remains as an element of the historical revelation of God, attested to the believer by the spirit, it is difficult either to prove the existence of, or to allege a sufficient reason for an inspiration "to secure a practically perfect record." Again, the admission of a human element in the Bible that is not inspired, and the limitation of inspiration to the truth revealed in it, suggests questions regarding the authority of the Scriptures to which the author has not adverted. It is no longer sufficient to say a thing is in the Bible in order to claim for it credence. The prior question must be answered, Is it an integral part of revelation? What is essential to the integrity of revealed truth and what is no more than accident-

ally connected with it, are matters about which different minds will form different opinions. But what becomes of the authority of Scripture if we have no common standard of belief to which we can make an appeal? In the view of the excessive subjectivity that must result from the shifting of the basis of the authority of the Bible away from the latter to the spiritual truth it contains, does it not become necessary for the Church to formulate the faith for which it claims the belief of men as resting on Divine authority? One other remark may be made as an application of the principles of this little book to which the author has not referred. The function of the record, he rightly says, is not so much to preserve the details of the history with faultless accuracy as to convey a just impression of the religious truth that the history teaches. How far is this principle to be extended? Is it a fair consequence that we may, without prejudice to the inspiration of Scripture, maintain that there is in certain parts of the Old Testament history an *ideal* element, provided it can be shown that the effect of the idealizing process is not to distort the Divine significance of the facts, but rather to make it prominent? The author has not applied his principles in this direction: it would have added to the usefulness of his book had more notice been taken of the problem that meets the student of the Old Testament. But it is easy to criticise. The author is to be thanked for what he has done. We hope his book will be widely read among those for whom it is specially intended. We know of none calculated to be more helpful.

DAVID SOMERVILLE.

Natural Religion.

By Franz Hettinger, D.D. Edited with an Introduction on Certainty by Henry Sebastian Bowden. London: Burns & Oates. 1890. Cr. 8vo. Price 7s. 6d.

THIS is a condensed translation for the benefit of English readers of the first of the five volumes of the late Professor Hettinger's "Apologie des Christenthums." The language is idiomatic and flowing and readily understood. With the exception of a sentence or two in the notes the whole work is perspicuous from beginning to end. But the correction of the press has not been sufficiently attended to. Several errors occur in the spelling of proper names and in the titles of German books. Whether the plan of abstracting and condensing a book of this kind is wise, is, to say the least, doubtful, seeing that its value largely depends on its affluence of quotations and illustrations. For our own part we much prefer

to have a work exactly as it left the author's pen rather than to have it adapted to the English reader. In the present case the original contributions of Dr Hettinger, and the additions by his translators, are not distinguished from one another. This is manifestly improper: the portions for which Dr Hettinger is responsible and those added by the editor should be kept separate.

Dr Hettinger's purpose is apologetic in the wide sense of the term. He seeks to expose error and to establish truth. He discusses the sources of doubt in religion; scepticism, materialism, and rationalism, as forms or kinds of doubt; the proofs for the existence of God drawn from history, nature, and mind; materialism and pantheism as the two systems opposed to theism; and then sets himself to show that man is not "soulless;" that he consists of body and soul; that he sustains certain relations to God, and that his chief end is communion with God.

The author makes no attempt to deal with the problems of theism. He ignores all modern discussions on the subject. He is satisfied with stating simply and lucidly the arguments, more especially of Aquinas, in favour of the existence of God. It is in the strictly apologetic portion of the book that his special merits are seen. The criticisms on materialism, Darwinism, and pantheism, and also of the arguments directed against the immortality of the soul are marked by sagacity, dialectical power, and wide knowledge of science. The author has read extensively and thought much on these and similar topics. He is conversant with the latest contributions to the literature of his subject, and knows how to avail himself of their facts and conclusions. He is judicious in his selection of arguments, and not disposed to press any of them unduly. The considerations on which he chiefly relies are those simple, broad, catholic principles which are the common possession of all men, and which the plainest man understands when properly put before him. It must, however, be allowed that he assigns an importance to the argument from the common consent of man which does not rightly belong to it, unless, indeed, he has only stated his position too absolutely. What all men believe is not necessarily true, may be far from true, may be false; but what all men believe on certain subjects has the strongest presumptive evidence in its favour. No competent thinker will place in the same class the scientific and the moral beliefs of any people.

The Introduction on Certainty is not equal to the rest of the book either in tone or substance. The psychology is sometimes imperfect, the facts erroneous, and the reasoning weak. Many of the assertions lack insight, knowledge of men, sobriety, reverence, discrimination. What can be thought of a writer who gravely informs us that belief in Sin has less hold to-day on man's reason and con-

science than before Christ came, and that the Reformers gagged and turned human reason out of court, and effaced all that the master minds of Paganism or Christianity had thought out, amassed, and made sure?

There are in our own and other languages more original and more thorough works on the separate questions with which Dr Hettinger deals, but there are few which form a more convenient and serviceable manual of one of the great branches of Christian Apologetics—that relating to the existence of God and the immortality of the Soul. As such this volume deserves a hearty welcome from all Christians. The garb and speech of the writer are Roman Catholic, but his spirit is simply Christian, and there are not many of Dr Hettinger's pages which can give offence even to the most exclusive of Protestants.

It should be added that the work has an excellent table of contents, and a full index.

WILLIAM PATRICK.

The Church of my Baptism.

By Francis King. London: Burns & Oates, Ltd. 8vo. Price 2s. 6d.

IN this volume of 113 pages the author sets forth the considerations which led him to secede from the Church of England, and to enter that of Rome. His aim is not to justify his conduct, but to induce others to follow his example. He does not find it necessary to vindicate his action, it speaks for itself. Its fruits of satisfaction, peace, and joy are great and precious, and what he has found for himself he is anxious that others should find. The inconsistency of the Anglican theory of the Church drove him into the Church of Rome, and the chief object of the writer is so to state and illustrate this inconsistency as to constrain his readers to abandon an indefensible position, and to accept what, in his judgment, is the only tenable theory of the Church, that which finds expression and embodiment in the Church of Rome. The book is written in a sincere and earnest spirit, and in a befitting temper. Its polemics are those of Christian courtesy and charity. To a theologian it is interesting in two respects as a monument of modes and tendencies of thought which are widely current in the English Church to-day, and as an argument of considerable force against the tenets of the Anglo-Catholic party. The author, even while a member of the Church of England, had a horror of the Reformation, detested Protestantism, held Sacramentarian views of the most extreme type, and was a firm believer in the external unity and catholicity of the Church. The tenor of the book is that the logical issue of such

opinions is submission to the Church of Rome. It must be granted that its pages will cause some inquietude to those members of the Church of England who share the original tenets of the author. Any man who believes that his salvation for all eternity depends on his personal connection with one Christian denomination, that the sin of schism is the sin against the Holy Ghost, that there can only be one visible Church in the world, that that Church must be capable of tracing its descent from the Apostles, and must be distinguished by unity of doctrine, will find it difficult to reconcile such views with membership of the Church of England. Where is the unity of the faith in the Church of England? Is not this very unity excluded by its boasted principle of comprehension? Do not its bishops contradict one another? Are not opposite doctrines on the most vital topics held and taught within its pale? What is to be said of the Gorham case, and of the treatment of Bishop Colenso? What is the English Church but the creation of Elizabeth? In what essential respect does it differ from the other Protestant churches of the sixteenth century? Is there not the closest resemblance between the action of Elizabeth in England and of Gustavus in Sweden? To be free from the guilt of schism; to have no responsibility for the "awful apostasy" of the founders of the Church of England; to be delivered from Erastianism; to feel the blessedness of Catholic communion; to submit to the voice of supreme authority in matters of doctrine and of morals, is only possible within the Catholic and Roman Church. Such is a rapid summary of the principal assertions and arguments in the volume. They tell with fatal effect on the Anglo-Catholic position. It ceases to be tenable. But whether many will be influenced by the vigour and fervour of the author's language is more than doubtful. His pleas are not new. They are familiar. They are even trite. If men were swayed by logic alone, many more secessions might follow that of the writer. But men are not swayed by logic alone, and this latest discussion of the "Anglican" position may accomplish as little as some of the larger, more elaborate, and more learned works which have preceded it. Possibly, too, its logic may produce a different result from what the author expects. Of all books in the world, among the least likely to have made Mr King a Roman Catholic is the Bampton Lectures of Canon Curteis. Yet he assures us that the perusal of this volume was a "prime means in converting him to Popery." It may be that the "Anglican" readers of Mr King's book may be forced to ask themselves whether the views they hold in common with Mr King are true, and may discover that they are as untenable as the Roman Catholic views which they reject. Instead of advancing to Roman Catholicism, they may recede to Protestantism.

To a Protestant, indeed, the number of facts taken for granted by the writer is extraordinary. He is not to be blamed for this, for he is expostulating and pleading with those who start from principles the same as his own. The efficacy of his reasoning would have been injured by a reference to other considerations than those to which he confines himself. But it is instructive for Protestants generally, and especially for Protestant theologians, to learn once more that in England to-day a man of education and culture, brought up in the Church of England, can speak, without the slightest hesitation, of the occupancy by Peter of the See of Rome ; can treat the testimony of the Fathers as if it were uniform ; can find nothing in the history of the Papacy to make him doubt whether the Roman Catholic Church is the only Christian Church on earth ; can regard the Reformation as a sin against God ; can accept the doctrine of "development" as put forth by some theologians of this century ; can despair of his salvation within the pale of the Church of England, but can be confident of his salvation within the pale of the Church of Rome.

WILLIAM PATRICK.

Supernatural Revelation : An Essay concerning the Basis of the Christian Faith.

By C. M. Mead, Ph. D., D. D., lately Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. Royal 8vo, pp. 480.

PROFESSOR Mead, who has hitherto been chiefly known by a book entitled, "The Soul Here and Hereafter," published in 1879, has now ventured on the troubled sea of apologetics. The general scope of the stately volume before me will be best indicated by a brief summary of the table of contents. There are eleven chapters, which deal successively with the Origin and Grounds of the Theistic Belief ; the Question of a Primeval Revelation ; the Christian Revelation—its General Features and the Nature of Miracles ; the Evidential Value of Miracles ; the Proof of the Christian Miracles ; the Relation of Christianity to Judaism ; the Record of Revelation, specially Inspiration ; the Authority of the Scriptures ; the Conditions and Limits of Biblical Criticism. An Appendix contains eight excursions headed, Dr Maudsley on the Validity of Consciousness ; the Cosmic Philosophy (Fiske) ; Personality and the Absolute ; Leland and Watson on the Primeval Revelation ; the Certainties of the Agnostic ; Beyschlag on the Miracle of the Loaves ; Ritschl on Miracles ; the Book of Jonah. Indexes to Topics,

names of writers mentioned, and Biblical passages touched on, add to the utility of the work.

It will be seen from this summary that Dr Mead's work covers extensive ground; but one feels throughout that one is under the guidance of a man of thoroughly adequate learning, singular acuteness and remarkable fairness; who into the bargain is master of an unusually clear style.

It is not an easy book to review; not merely because of the variety of topics which are discussed, but chiefly because it is itself very much of the nature of a review. There is a good deal of the judicial summing up, or of the stocktaking, in it. I have been often reminded of Sidgwick's "Methods of Ethics" by its method of procedure. Soberly, and with only here and there an indication of feeling in the shape of a strong word, or a satirical turn of expression, or a trenchant *reductio ad absurdum*, the author goes on his way, freely distributing yeas and nays, ifs and buts, assent and dissent. It is a satisfactory and yet in a sense an unsatisfactory book:—unsatisfactory because one is not seized hold on and carried forward by a vigorous constructive argument, and because there is so much careful weighing and balancing; satisfactory, on the other hand, because, with exceptions, one is enabled to see just where one is. For a good many, indeed, this will be anything but a source of satisfaction. They love illusions. They dislike men and books that leave them with the impression that there is something to be said on the other side; that the strong dogmatic statements in which they have found comfort are not quite so defensible as was supposed. People of this sort will not like Professor Mead, and perhaps charge him with see-sawing and consequent unsoundness. He is, however, almost throughout what a Christian advocate ought conspicuously to be, conspicuously fair.

My own impression, notwithstanding, is that Dr Mead's strength lies rather where I have just indicated, than, as a rule, in the more forcible restatement of the evidence dealt with; still less in the presentment of new lines of argument. The case of Christianity is cleared, it is true, of some obscurities and misapprehensions; the weakness of that of its opponents is at various points laid bare; perhaps, too, friends who are in danger of going over to the enemy either from a chivalrous feeling that too much has been made of certain reasons for Christianity, and too little of reasons against it, will be conciliated and calmed by the very fairness of the work; but otherwise whilst it moves on a high plane, I question whether it moves on the highest hitherto touched.

A formal criticism—yet also more than formal—which I am compelled to advance, affects the general point of view as indicated in the use of the word Revelation, and the description of the Bible

itself as "the Record of a Revelation." Dr Mead himself regards it as the "record of revelation." If he had said that it comprises or *contains* or records *revelations*, I should entirely agree with him; but the formula, "Record of Revelation" suggests the idea of the Bible being one homogeneous whole, and as such Revelation. Whereas surely there is no intelligible sense in which large and important parts of the Bible can be described as revelation, namely, supernatural or divine revelation, revelation of or from God. What is there of the nature of *revelation* proper in the genealogical lists that repeatedly occur, or in the book of Esther, or in parts, if not the whole, of Job, or in part of Ecclesiastes? But if the Bible be approached from the historical point of view, that is, be regarded as the record, reflection, and monument, of a life—individual and national—to the determination of which special divine interventions materially contributed, which was largely controlled by supernatural methods, for example, by revelations, for ends connected with the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth—then every book and every part of every book will be found to have its place and significance; the whole will increasingly appear to the spiritual mind to have come into existence under divine superintendence, for a divine purpose; and a theopneustic element, the very breath and atmosphere and light of God, will be discerned where from the point of view I am criticising one is apt to discover chiefly perplexity.¹

But enough of criticism. The difficulty, however, now is to do full justice to the many admirable features of Dr Mead's discussions; indeed, it is impossible to do so in the space at my disposal. I must therefore restrict myself to giving a taste or two of his quality.

A distinction is carefully carried through in connection with the subject of *theistic belief*, which is of radical importance, namely, that between its *origin*, or the mode in which man gets his notion of God; and the reasons by which he justifies his retention of the notion. As to the former he argues on the general ground that "all knowledge is essentially the property of a human community; and that the great mass of it is purely a matter of communication" that man acquires his notion of God in the same way. This, however, needs supplementing from the section on primeval revelation, where he advocates the view that man is born with a faculty of knowing God, and an inclination thereto, and that God gratified that inclination and called that faculty into action at the very first by a manifestation of Himself. Professor Mead criticises successfully

¹ For a fuller exposition of the point of view thus briefly hinted at I would refer those who are interested in the subject to a little book entitled, "The Bible an Outgrowth of Theocratic Life," published by Messrs T. & T. Clark.

Principal Fairbairn's affirmation that a *primitive revelation* is "a mere assumption, incapable of proof—capable of most positive disproof."¹ His own position is stated as follows:—"One thing is absolutely certain: the primeval man was in an exceptional state; the analogies of present life cannot be applied to him. He had no tradition, no instruction from ancestors. If, then, one is disposed to press present analogies in judging respecting the religion of the first man, one is led to favour rather than to reject the theory of a primeval revelation. The revelation would have supplied to him what is now given by tradition." . . . "For him so to speak the supernatural method by divine revelation was the only natural method" (77). He puts the case of the evidential value of *miracles* in the following nutshell:—"The Christian religion may be accepted by one man because others have seemed to be the better for it: *but no one can be the better for it without faith in the truth of it; and this faith has always depended on belief in its supernatural attestation*" (194). As to the kernel of this I agree with him; but I should prefer a somewhat different mode of presentation.

With regard to Christ's testimony to Judaism as a divine revelation, and the supposition now often advanced that in speaking as he did he shared the erroneous notions of his countrymen, Dr Mead remarks: "If Jesus was wrong in calling Judaism a divine revelation preparatory to his own, then he was in error in respect to the very question concerning which he professed to be able to speak with infallible authority. He who calls that a revelation which is not one, is not the man to communicate a true one" (234).

Dealing in the last chapter with Old Testament criticism—for which, be it remarked, he claims the "utmost freedom and thoroughness"—and referring specially to the case of Deuteronomy, he says well: "If it first came into existence in the reign of Josiah, as the critical school in question (Kuenen-Wellhausen) holds, we have before us something quite else than a mere instance of pseudonymousness. The fiction respecting the authorship of the *book*, though bad enough, is of less account than the fiction respecting the authorship and history of the laws contained in it. If the Book of Ecclesiastes was written centuries after the time of Solomon, then even if (as is not very probable) the author could have made the people believe it to be the work of Solomon, though never heard of before, still the belief in the Solomonic authorship did not have, and was not designed to have, the effect of changing the popular notions concerning past history or of introducing a new code of laws. No one attempted on the strength of the deception to impose *legal and ceremonial obligations* on the people. Pseud-

¹ "Studies in the Philosophy of Religion and History," pp. 13 ff.

epigraphy may be an innocent thing, if all that is done is merely the assumption of a fictitious name; but if by means of the pseudepigraphy one undertakes to levy a tax or raise an army, the thing is no longer harmless, but becomes a criminal fraud. . . . If it was a harmless thing for Dickens to ascribe his novels to the fictitious 'Boz,' would it not also (on this principle) have been proper for him to forge an Act of Parliament and the royal signature ordering the introduction of the decimal system into the English currency" (376).

I am sorry not to be able to convey a fuller impression of the many good points of Professor Mead's comprehensive work, but I can assure the readers of this Review that within the limits previously drawn they will find it more than usually instructive.

D. W. SIMON.

Trost und Weihe.

Reden und Predigten von Karl Gerok. Stuttgart: Verlag von Carl Krabbe. 1890. 8vo. Pp. 302. Geh., 3 Mark.

Vor Feierabend.

Karl Gerok's letzte Predigten. Pp. 39. Geh., 50 Pf.

Illusionen und Ideale.

Ein Vortrag von Karl Gerok. 5te Auflage. Pp. 32. Geh., 50 Pf.

KARL GEROK was one of Germany's best known and best loved pastors, distinguished both as preacher and as poet. His "Palmblätter," the first of several small volumes of sacred lyrics, has reached a 59th edition, and his sermons are read all over Germany. Yielding to the oft-repeated wish of his friends, he had begun to prepare for publication a volume of casual addresses and sermons, when in January of this year, a hale old man of seventy-five, he was cut off by the dread influenza. The plan of the book with a small selection of materials was found upon his desk, and the son had no difficulty, out of the rich remains of forty years' ministry, in speedily completing the work which the father had begun. The selection has been admirably made. Even the most casual of the addresses—addresses that one marvels to think were written at all—delight one at once by the chaste beauty of their language, the wideness and warmth of their human sympathy, and the wonderful skill and tact with which the words of Scripture are chosen and applied. As a book of models, "Trost und Weihe" will be an invaluable companion to every textbook of pastoral theology.

The book is divided into three parts—For the Home, For the Congregation, For Works of Charity. The first part is equal in bulk to the other two combined. It consists of addresses delivered at baptisms, at weddings, at funerals, and at the confirmation of young communicants. The funeral addresses occupy exactly a quarter of the whole book, but they are so good that one cannot grudge it. They are spoken over all sorts and conditions of people, from the little child to the aged citizen, from the humble laundress to the famous actor, from the suicide to the patriot who fell fighting for his country. Nothing could be more beautiful or touching than an address spoken at the grave of two young nobles who fell together at Champigny in the great war of 1870. The second part of the book, For the Congregation, consists mainly of sermons on special occasions; at the consecration of churches, at the induction of pastors, in an orphan asylum, after the death of the Emperor Frederick, at the jubilee of King Charles of Würtemberg, and so on. To these are added two admirable *Beicht-reden*, or, as we might call them in Scotland, pre-communion addresses. The third part of the book, For Works of Charity, is made up of addresses delivered in connection with various charitable institutions in Stuttgart and elsewhere, *e.g.*, at the opening of an almshouse, of a home for working girls, of a deaf and dumb institution, at a Christmas treat for blind children, on various occasions at the Institute of Deaconesses (in whose work Gerok took a profound and practical interest), and among the rest, at an annual missionary festival, when he preached on Aaron and Hur holding up the hands of Moses.

Vor Feierabend.—These discourses are three in number, and were delivered, the first, last Christmas day, the second on New Year's day, and the third on the first Sunday of the year. For their own sake they are well worth publishing; for all who knew or care to know the man, they possess a more tender interest. Gerok's sermons are ethical sermons of the best type, not dry moralisings, but morality bathed in the dew of human sympathy and springing from the soil of spiritual faith. The Christmas sermon is really a sermon on Correggio's beautiful picture of the Holy Night; and the sermon is worthy of its text.

Illusionen und Ideale.—This eloquent lecture on the place and value of ideals has reached a fifth edition. Every page reflects the wide culture, the broad sympathies, and the moral earnestness of the man. The motto is a couplet from Schiller: Drum, edle Seele, entreiss' dich dem Wahn, Und den himmlischen Glauben bewahre! The climax of the teaching is: "Kein Ideal ohne Glauben: der glücklichste Idealist, der gläubige Christ." "Illusions are those will-o'-the-wisp lights that lure the wanderer into the marshes, or at best they are the soap-bubbles with which the child dreams his

hours away; Ideals are the stars which with changeless brilliance shine down upon the races of men, and as messengers from a higher world illumine the darkness that surrounds us on the earth."

R. A. LENDRUM.

Philosophy and Theology. Gifford Lectures.

*By James Hutchison Stirling, LL.D. (Edin.). Edinburgh :
T. & T. Clark. 1890. 8vo, pp. 420. Price 9s.*

Two of the four series of lectures, provided by the munificent foundations of the late Lord Gifford in the Universities of Scotland, have passed beyond the stage of oral delivery to large and interested audiences, and are made accessible to the reading public. In the handsome volume before us we have the first Edinburgh Gifford Lectures. Great expectations were formed when it was known that the metropolitan University had committed the important task of inaugurating this lectureship to the capable hands of Dr Hutchison Stirling. Everywhere, indeed, it was felt that only veterans in their respective departments should be asked to undertake so responsible a duty. The ideal lecturer whom Lord Gifford, from the tenor of his will, had evidently had in view, was one who, in addition to the requisite mental endowment and scholarship, should possess, in a pre-eminent degree, the virtue of moral courage; and who could be credited with this quality, if not he who had ventured to interpret for the practical British mind the "Secret of Hegel"? By his full and accurate translation of Schwegler's *Hand Book*, besides his other works, Dr Stirling had laid the philosophic world under obligation, and established a claim to go forth as a pioneer in this fresh exploration of the borderland where Philosophy and Theology meet.

Dr Stirling's lectures stand alone, so far as we are aware, in regard to the aspect of the general problem which he has selected for treatment. While the Gifford lecturers in Glasgow, Aberdeen, and St Andrews have directed attention chiefly to the bearings of Anthropology and Mythology upon Religion, the Edinburgh lectures consider the subject as a chapter in the history of Philosophy, and investigate it rather from the point of view of Reason and of the principles involved in the Theistic inference. In Natural Theology, we read, "the existence of God is to be established only by reference to the constitution of the universe, even as that universe exhibits itself within the bounds of space and time; and not in anywise farther than as it is reflected also in the intellect and will of man" (pp. 19, 20). For Comparative Theology and the

philosophies of religion based upon it, the lecturer has scant respect, though he pleads guilty to a playful exaggeration in the terms which he applies to them. To him at all events they did not seem in any way helpful in the study of Natural Theology. This consists essentially in the *proofs* for the Being of a God; and in a "consideration of the known, received, tabulated, traditional proofs, *in connection with their history*," he finds at once the theme of his prelections and the very marrow of the prescribed subject; he disdains "to set the example of an episode, while it was the epic he was specially engaged for" (p. 31). The proofs of which he desires thus to set forth the historical derivation are reduced to three—the Teleological, the Cosmological, and the Ontological; and this is the order in which they are considered, by far the larger portion of the lectures being occupied with the first,—the well-known, often combated, but ever fascinating argument from the evidences of Design. It can scarcely be doubted that these proofs have often suffered unmerited neglect and depreciation just from the exaggerated expectations which had been formed regarding them, especially of their individual force and range. It is satisfactory to observe thinkers of such different schools as Professor Flint, Professor Pfeleiderer, and Dr Hutchison Stirling restoring them to their old place of honour, while pointing out that they are really a formal analysis of the almost intuitive process by which the human mind first rose to the consciousness of God, "not," as Pfeleiderer says, "in thought, but in anticipatory and pictorial fashion." "Begin with which we may," remarks Dr Stirling (p. 45), "and let them be separated from each other as they may be in time, the three, after all, do constitute together but the three undulations of a single wave, which wave is but a natural rise and ascent to God, on the part of man's own thought, with man's own experience and consciousness as the object before him."

Dr Stirling's treatment of the history is a discursive one; there are many "episodes" in his "epic;" much historical and bibliographical information is presented, many criticisms are offered, the bearing of which upon the main theme is, to say the least, indirect. But though this "miscellaneousness," as he himself, in reference to his exposition of Darwin, terms it, cannot be said to be of advantage to the book, it probably was an advantage to the lectures as delivered, when those who heard a man full with the fulness, which, as Bacon says, comes by reading, pour out his stores of learning often with little principle of order save that of incidental suggestion, must have been subject to continual surprises which would do much to invest with interest a subject naturally somewhat abstruse. Beginning with Anaxagoras and his doctrine of an organizing Intelligence, the development of the thought thus thrown out is traced through the leading schools of Greek philosophy. From Socrates,

who is named as the originator of the argument from Design, we pass to his great disciples, Plato and Aristotle, in whose respective philosophies, widely as they differed in many important features, the intellectual is always the interpretative principle. The lecture on Aristotle does not need the commendatory sonnet of Prof. Blackie (beautiful as this is) to stamp it as an exceedingly fine study, powerful in its exposition and eloquently expressed. If in Plato we have been accustomed to see the clearest anticipations of some aspects of the Christian revelation, it is to Aristotle Dr Stirling points us for the nearest approach to the Christian idea of God. Referring to what he terms the "wonderful hymnic inspiration of his wonderful twelfth book" of the *Metaphysics*,—"there is but one idea," he says, "in the midst of that inspiration; and for the first time to the whole pagan world, for the first time to the whole great historical world, it is the complete idea of a one, supreme, perfect, personal Deity. It is for Greece ultimate and complete monotheism" (p. 147). The ninth lecture reviews the opinions of the philosophic sects,—Skeptic, Epicurean, Stoic, and Neo-platonic,—but is mainly occupied with Cicero, who is regarded as the principal channel through which a knowledge of the ancient reasonings has been transmitted to be the guide of modern speculation. The tenth lecture touches upon the Fathers, and brings us to Anselm, with whom the Ontological Argument comes into view. As the proofs in general have fallen into disfavour, so the Ontological Argument in particular has in modern times been much discredited, and regarded merely as a scholastic subtlety dependent for its virtue upon a doctrine of Realism now universally abandoned. Though Dr Stirling's treatment of this Argument, both in this place and later in connection with the Kantian criticism of it, seems to us unnecessarily brief and less satisfactory than most of his book, he has done good service by producing evidence that Anselm was himself aware of the obvious objection to his argument in its scholastic form. The essence of the argument, however, remains. It is the thought of God. When we attempt to answer the question, What is God?—"we find that we have thought this universe into its source—we find that we have realised *to thought*, as a necessity *of thought*, the single necessity of a one eternal, all-enduring principle, which is the root, and the basis, and the original of all that is. . . . And with such thoughts before us, it will be found that the ontological proof will assume something of reality, and will cease to be a mere matter of words. The very *thought of God* is of that *which is, and cannot not-be.*"

The tenth lecture closes the first course, which it had been proposed to devote to the consideration of the "Affirmative" position in regard to the Proofs for the Existence of God. The second course, also of ten lectures, is occupied with the "Negative" posi-

tion,—with the objections to, the criticisms of, these proofs. As they are regarded as having been practically established by the earliest thinkers, it is in modern times that the most formidable assaults have been made upon them. This division is of course one of practical convenience; it is not meant that there was no negative influence in ancient times, or that the arguments have not received positive developments from more recent thinkers. The negative movement is described in three stages, to which the terms positive, comparative, and superlative are expressly applied; they are associated respectively with the names of Hume, Kant, and Darwin. In no part of his work perhaps is Dr Stirling more discursive, but in none are we more conscious of a pervasive inner sympathy than in his treatment of Hume. Hume's physical peculiarities, his intellectual tastes, and his literary judgments are passed in review as introductory to an explanation of his significance as regards the question at issue. And if the writer apparently has difficulty in appreciating the shrewd but not unkindly humour of Hume's answer when told that some one had chalked St David Street upon his house, "Never mind, lassie, many a better man has been made a saint of before!" it is perhaps because he discerns no little truth in the mocking canonisation. He chronicles the touching words of the high priest of scepticism in the hour of his affliction, "Though I throw out my speculations to entertain the learned and metaphysical, yet, in other things, I do not think so differently from the rest of the world as you imagine;" and he parts from him with a blessing, "Whatever his shortcomings and deficiencies, it is still with love and respect and gratitude that we ought to think always and at any time of the 'good David.'"

Space will not allow us to enter at length by way of either exposition or criticism into the arguments actually presented in the work before us. We can only refer, as specially worthy of attention, and as offering a fresh contribution to controversies of present interest, to the remarks on the meaning of necessity and contingency as applied to the physical universe (p. 111); to the distribution of the elements of Hume's argument (p. 266 *et seq.*); to the exhibition of Hume's self-confutations (pp. 253, 279); the answer to Pessimism (pp. 275-6); the sceptical issue of Kantism (p. 317); and the part played by Chance in the theories of Darwin (p. 336);—these being specified as a few instances out of many. Less satisfactory in our view is the meaning placed upon Hume's argument that the world is a "singular effect" (pp. 255, 278); the admission that the theory of "Natural Selection" is fatal to the argument from Design (p. 325); and the criticism of Darwinianism as set forth in connection with the illustration of the mud-fish (p. 356). In regard to the second of these points, Dr Stirling appears to overlook the

fact that, at the best, Evolution can only establish itself as a *modal* and not a *causal* theory of the universe, and that "chance variation" or the influence of outward conditions can only develop possibilities which were present from the first, and which, therefore, do not militate against the assumption that the range of possibility had its source in purposeful Intelligence.

This volume will make for itself many friends. There is a bracing, stimulating masterfulness about the lectures which, on a careful perusal of them, will be found to lead to many rich veins of thought. They have their faults—faults of arrangement, faults, it may be, even of diction—but in spite of them, even through them shines the light of a strong individuality. Some may think that, especially in the first lectures of each course, Dr Stirling has devoted an excessive amount of space to Lord Gifford's own views and sentiments. But in face of the fact that many have concluded, from the absolute freedom in which Lord Gifford wished the great questions of Natural Theology to be discussed, that he desired to make his lectureships a means of propagating Agnosticism, if not Atheism, Dr Stirling's statements of the evidence he has collected on this point are strictly apposite, and we feel that it was both proper and graceful in a first lecturer on the foundation to bring them forward.

We should willingly have quoted some of Dr Stirling's felicitous characterisations, such as those of Buckle (p. 108), Lessing (p. 118), and Hume (p. 234). His own work may be summed up as another splendid assertion of Thought, Intelligence, as after all that which is essential in the universe. "Nature must have a man to make it even nature—object must have subject to make it even object." "The universal, as the universal, is its own principle and its own basis of support. Thought, even as thought, accounts for its own self, if not in the finitude of man, then in the infinitude of God. There it is the one *ἀνάγκη*, the sole necessity, that that could not not-be!" Set that declaration, mystical as in some respects it may sound, side by side with the statement of the materialistic hypothesis with which the lectures close:—"that, out of an accidental speck of proteine, the accidental pullulation of difference (mere difference) produced—without design—mechanically, as it were—you and me, the circulation of the blood, the respiration of the lungs, the action of a brain;" and it may almost be left to the common sense of mankind to choose between them.

ALEXANDER STEWART.

The Gospel and Modern Substitutes.

*By Rev. A. Scott Matheson, Dumbarton. Edinburgh and London :
Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Cr. 8vo, pp. 319. Price 5s.*

THIS book is an earnest and praiseworthy attempt to deal with questions arising in many minds, and to which the Church of Christ must furnish the answer—whether Christianity can offer a welcome to the scientific advances, the social problems, the political changes of the new world opening up before her, and whether she can find room for the new tendencies, and thoughts, and aspirations of the present day? Is Christianity merely a religion for the past that has had its day and must now cease to be, or is it a religion as well for the present and ever-passing now? Is there a message in Christ for the coming age, for the new century? Our author answers such questions with an unhesitating affirmative, and we agree with him. But if this is so, the Church must be able to show that Christ has a new significance to give, a peculiar guidance to offer to the interests, and movements, and questions of society to-day; how all that is true and worthy in the thought and science of the age will live in the ever-living Lord, and how for the growing thought and knowledge of to-day Jesus Christ is the all-embracing truth.

Now this Mr Matheson not unsuccessfully does in what he modestly names “a popular, and, no doubt, most imperfect attempt.” In successive chapters he deals with the relation of Christianity to Agnosticism, Science, Positivism, Socialism, Pessimism, Art, showing that Christianity comprehends all that is true, and worthy, and good in these systems, while yet she is able to lead her followers in a more excellent way, and that “these rival systems have been serviceable in eliciting the perpetual novelty and freshness of the old gospel.”

In the brief compass of this volume there is room only for a popular presentation of the thought of such teachers as Comte, Darwin, Schopenhauer, &c., and a Positivist, for example, might object that his position is not fully stated; but enough is given to show that Christ, and He alone, reaches the depths of man's nature, and that without Him human hearts and lives are left sad and hungering.

In bringing forward the time-honoured “Design” argument, Mr Matheson must remember that the expression “design” is objected to as misleading, and that the better word may be “order,” “adaptation,” or “adjustment.” Perhaps he is rather unfair to Darwin in representing him as a “typical agnostic,” and as one “in whose life religion had no place.” Only under pressure, if we remember aright, by a Christian correspondent to formulate his belief,

did he use the term "agnostic" regarding himself, and it must not be forgotten that he admitted the facts regarding the power of Christianity to convert the Fuegians, that he sent a subscription to the Church Missionary Society, and allowed his name to be put on their committee.

The most interesting part of the book is that dealing with social problems, in which the author shows that Christianity is pre-eminently a gospel of socialism of the right kind, and that the Church of Christ ought to show interest in all that pertains to the social well-being, health, and happiness of the people. The religion of Christ teaches us the love of all men, the brotherhood of man, and self-sacrifice for others: Christ brings rich and poor together, and moves us in His service to seek a solution of those practical problems that so deeply stir society, and affect the interests and well-being of our brethren of mankind. Much is being done by the Church of Christ in her mission districts, and indirectly in the benevolent and charitable efforts of the day—much more will probably be done—in dealing with social questions to bring into operation the broad principles of a Christian philanthropy.

Space does not admit of anything more than a reference to Pessimism, which has been effectually condemned by the coming of Christ, and to the chapter on Art, in which Mr Matheson shows that the greatest artists in poetry, painting, sculpture, and music, have found room for their highest powers and best feelings in Christian subjects.

While we cannot accept the guidance of the author all through, his book is well fitted to stimulate reflection and action in the Church of Christ of the present day, on questions pressing upon her for solution, and which do find their solution in Jesus Christ, who is all in all, and under whose dominion all human life in every sphere must be lived out. The book is delightfully printed and bound.

GEORGE HENDERSON.

The Impregnable Rock of Holy Scripture.

By the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. Revised and enlarged from "Good Words." London: Isbister. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 296. Price 3s. 6d.

APART from Mr Gladstone's prominent position, and the fact that they appeal particularly to a class of readers with whom he has special sympathies, these papers call for notice as the utterances of one who has, from natural temperament and long experience, a special claim to be heard on the subject with which they deal. It

would be impossible in a brief review to follow the author into all the details touched upon in his survey of a very wide field. All that can be done here is to indicate his attitude, and to estimate, if possible, the significance and probable influence of the publication.

The aim of the papers must be kept in view in estimating their value. Believing that there is a foundation of fact for the impression that the operative classes have largely lost their hold upon the Christian creed, Mr Gladstone sets himself to deal particularly with one of the many causes of this estrangement, viz., "the wide, though more or less vague disparagement of the Holy Scriptures recently observable in the surface currents of prevailing opinion, as regards their title to supply in a supreme degree food for the religious thought of man, and authoritative guidance for his life" (p. 25).

It is only from this point of view that we perceive a unity in what otherwise appears a number of unconnected discussions on such subjects as the Creation story, the Office and Work of the Old Testament, the Psalms, the Mosaic Legislation, and Corroborations of Scripture from History and Natural Science. The popular mind associates religion very intimately with the book which is its record. Mr Gladstone has done something to emphasise the distinction between a religion and the documents in which it is made known. That he has not gone further in this direction will, perhaps, be the strongest objection to his book from the side of the modern historical school of criticism. He is writing, however, for a popular purpose; he knows at what points the attack on Scripture is most commonly delivered, and he has skill to present the positions which are the strength of the defence.

The papers do not profess to be "systematic or complete, but popular and partial only." Mr Gladstone disclaims all authority to speak as an expert in matters of Biblical criticism or of physical science. He urges indeed that his occupation with Homeric studies has given him some experience in the literary criticism of ancient documents (p. 3); but he has a more solid claim to be heard on the subject in hand:—

"Any man whose labour and duty for several scores of years has included as their central point the study of the means of making himself intelligible to the mass of men, is *pro tanto* perhaps in a better position to judge what would be the forms and methods of speech proper for the Mosaic writers to adopt, than the most perfect Hebraist as such, or the most consummate votary of natural sciences as such" (p. 56).

Again, in the conclusion he tells us the papers

"Form the testimony of an old man in the closing period of his life. It is rendered with no special qualification, but possibly this one. Few persons of our British race have lived through a longer period of incessant argumentative contention, or have had a more diversified experience in trying to ascertain, for purposes immediately practical, the difference between tenable and

untenable positions. Such experience is directly conversant with the nature of man and his varied relations; and I own my inclination to suppose that it is more germane to the treatment of subjects that lie directly between collective man and the Author of his being, more calculated to neutralize deficiencies, though not to impart capacity, than a familiarity with those physical sciences which have supplied an arena for, perhaps, the most splendid triumphs of the century now far advanced in its decline" (p. 254).

In these words we have more than a pathetic review of a long and active life; we have the vindication of the competency of intelligent common sense and experience to pronounce an opinion on matters of the higher criticism. The most advanced school will have to submit ultimately to the verdict of men who, as Mr Gladstone describes them, "are not experts, but are supposed to be endowed with ordinary intelligence" (p. 170). The more a theory is well grounded, no matter how deep the foundations may lie, the more surely will its solidity be acknowledged by the general intelligence; if the foundations be insecure, the more rapidly will it sink under the strain of experience. For, after all, the matters really in dispute, in so far as they are of vital practical concern, fall within the range of experience; or, as Mr Gladstone expresses it; "the only specialism which can be of the smallest value here, is that of the close observer of human nature; of the student of human action, and of the methods which Divine providence employs in the conduct of its dealings with men" (p. 55).

Mr Gladstone's experience as a controversialist stands him in good stead. He shows a positive delight in crossing swords with Mr Huxley; and in dealing with advanced critics he cannot be pronounced unreasonable in asking for "some element of stability" in their conclusions (p. 16), nor guilty of exaggeration when he says:—

"There is such a thing as a warping of the mind in favour of disintegration. Often does a critic bring to the book he examines the conclusion which he believes that he has drawn from it. . . . And often, even when he has attained his conclusion without prejudice, he will after adopting defend it against objectors, not with argument only, but with all the pride and pain of wounded self-love" (pp. 19, 20.)

This skill in detecting the weak points of an opponent's argument is seen particularly in the paper on the Mosaic Legislation. What he says of the extreme phases of critical theories might be illustrated by reference to such writers as Daumer and Ghillany at an earlier period, and Maurice Vernes in our own day:—

"The result of this negative criticism ought to be viewed in its extreme form, and this for several reasons: such as, that, with the lapse of time, it continually adopts new negations; that the more conservative of the latest schools exhibit to us no principle, which separates them in the mass from the bolder disintegration; and that what is now the *ultima thule* of the system may, a short time hence, appear only to have been a stage on the way to positions as yet undreamt of" (p. 196).

In regard to the prevailing modern theory of the Pentateuch, though he does not come to close quarters with the Grafian hypothesis, and though he may be pronounced to be not up to date in details, he observes very pertinently "that the hypothesis is one reaching far beyond the province of specialism, and requiring to be tested at a number of points by considerations more broadly historical" (p. 176). It may be added that when he offers to "yield, as matter of course, to the conclusions of linguists in their own domain, not only respectful attention, but provisional assent" (p. 178), reserving the right to judge for himself on "the matter as opposed to the form," he does not sufficiently recognise the fact that the conclusions arrived at, partly in regard to the separation of the "sources," and, in a greater degree, in regard to their order and dates, are based largely upon considerations of the matter, not of the linguistic form.

Mr Gladstone claims for his essay on the Creation story the statement of what seems to him "a distinct and specific argument in proof of a Divine Revelation" (p. 253). The argument is: If the account of the creation is neither poetry, nor science, nor theory, but a statement of what the writer believed to be fact, and if it is in accordance with what science teaches as to the origin of the earth and the universe: then the account, relating as it does to things not within the cognisance of man, must have been made known to him by God (p. 37). Much that occurs in this paper is well put, especially when the educative character of the story is dwelt upon. Most persons will at least accept the dictum of Dillmann, that, of all the ancient cosmogonies, the Mosaic comes nearest to modern science. Some may even be disposed to say that it is more akin to the discoveries of science than to the ancient cosmogonies, not excepting the Chaldean. If so much be admitted, then Mr Gladstone's enquiry as to the source from which it is derived is quite pertinent, whether the story is regarded as having been communicated to "primitive man," as he is fond of repeating (p. 43, &c.), or composed even comparatively late in the nation's history. At the same time, when all is said that can be said, it would perhaps be better to rest satisfied with such a position as that of Prof. Pritchard (p. 40), or, at most, with Mr Gladstone's own general statement "that the 'days' of the Mosaic are more properly to be described as chapters in the history of creation" . . . that "the periods of time assigned to each chapter are longer or shorter . . . and that "in point of chronology, his chapters often overlap" (p. 50). In view of the considerations brought forward by Mr Gladstone himself, he seems to minimise too much the points of difference in regard to the third and fourth "days." Driver puts the case fairly enough when he says that the Biblical writer, had he been ac-

quainted with the actual past of the earth, would, while still using language equally simple, equally popular, have expressed himself in different terms.¹

A true instinct has led Mr Gladstone to devote a paper to the Psalms. It is one of the weak points of the modern criticism that it attempts to reconstruct the pre-exilian religion of Israel with little reference to these compositions. Their bearing on the subject of religion, as distinguished from religious observances, has not been sufficiently estimated; nor can it be set aside by a summary relegating of so many of them to post-exilian times. In his remarks on the Psalms, however, Mr Gladstone would have strengthened his position, and done a good service to those for whom specially he writes, if he had given more consideration to the historical conditions which led to the expression of national and patriotic sentiment in language which, to a Christian reader, always presents difficulties apart from such considerations.

Not the least valuable part of the book is the concluding paper, and, in particular, as coming from an octogenarian, the retrospect over the phases of religious thought which he has seen in his time. In his own earlier days, "say in the second quarter of the present century, there was a great revival, both of the dogmatic sense and of the religious life in England." "But as the third quarter proceeded, the sceptical movement set in with a wide and subtle power." And he comes to the conclusion, from a comparison of other times, "that these negative movements are subject not only to a hazard, but even to a law of mutation; and that every one of them, when it has done its work, may cease to be" (p. 258). There are not wanting indications that, even on the Continent, men are coming to the conviction that destructive criticism may be carried out till there is nothing left on which to begin the work of reconstruction.

The papers may not be described as a contribution to Biblical science, nor need it be claimed for them that their publication will "settle" any controversy. They will have done good service, however, if they assure the minds of the readers to whom they are addressed, that much of the negation so confidently advanced is not to be taken at its own valuation. They will do still better service if they induce others, following the author's example, to apply their own common sense to problems of Biblical science, the solution of which is too much left to the mere specialist.

JAMES ROBERTSON.

¹ "Expositor," Third Ser., vol. iii., p. 37.

Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.*Drittes Heft.* 1890.

THIS is a fairly interesting number, containing six articles. The first (by Prof. Jacobsen, Berlin) is ostensibly a contribution to the criticism of the Gospels, but really an advertisement of two books by himself. 1. *On the relation between Matthew and Luke*.—He shows (as against Volkmar, Schulze, and Pfeiderer) the dependence of Luke on Matthew. Against Pfeiderer's position that Matthew combined Mark and Luke, both in speeches and in facts, Jacobsen adduces detailed proofs of Luke's dependence on Matthew, *e.g.* (a) the "Great Interpolation" (Luke ix. 51—xviii. 14), where, led by association of ideas, Luke collects words of Christ from different parts of Matthew; (b) that elsewhere Luke follows Matthew step by step; (c) Luke iv., which is hopelessly out of place, presupposing (vv. 38 f.) an event which is narrated in ch. v.; and other minor proofs. 2. *On the Fourth Gospel*.—Here the aim is to show that "John" followed Luke not only in individual points, but in the general arrangement of the matter. The three divisions of John correspond to those of the third Gospel. The writer doubts the Johannine authorship, upon the usual ground of theological and literary characteristics, apparent geographical errors and ignorance of Jewish matters, the opposition to the Jews, and the Greek philosophical education of the author.

The second is the most interesting article in the list—a contribution to the Exposition of Romans i.-iv., by C. Willing. The writer lays it down as a general principle that *all* the senses which a word may have in Greek usage are to be kept in view in the interpretation, and holds that if this were really done, many difficult passages in Rom. i.-iv. would be made plain. A few examples must suffice. (1) Rom. i. 17, *πίστις* may mean, besides faith, (a) promise, and (b) faithfulness. Translate therefore: For a righteousness is in it revealed upon the ground of a faithfulness (of God) towards a promise; it is written, namely, &c." (2) Ch. ii. 1-3, *κρίνειν* has the meanings "to approve" and "to occasion," as well as "to judge." Translate therefore: v. 1, Therefore, O man, thou art . . . who approvest. In that thou approvest thy neighbour, thou, &c. V. 2, Of course we know that the Judgment of God is directed only against those who do such things. V. 3, Thinkest thou who approvest him who does evil and (thereby) dost occasion the same, &c.? (3) Ch. iii. 21, *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ* does not mean a quality either of God or man, but the divine way of obtaining that righteousness demanded by God (*θεοῦ*=gen. auctoris). (4) iii. 30, *ἐκ πίστεως* and *διὰ τῆς πίστεως*. Both lines of interpretation (*ἐκ* and *διὰ* as synonymous and as of different meaning) are wrong.

The solution is in the varied meanings of πίστις. Translate: Who will justify the circumcised on the ground of faithfulness (to his promise), and the uncircumcised through faith. (5) iv. 2, The true meaning here is got by putting a mark of interrogation after ἐδικαιώθη. "What then, &c.? If namely it (should appear that) Abraham was justified by works (what becomes of my assertion?). He may boast but not before God. For, &c." The summary given of the teaching of these chapters, thus interpreted, is interesting.

The third article, by Hilgenfeld, is on the constitution of the Christian community in the formative period of the Catholic Church. It is in form a discussion of Löning's work, "The Constitution of Primitive Christianity." Here the period after 135 is treated, and, of course, the evergreen "Bishop and Presbyter" question is thrashed out again. Löning's view is as follows:—Monarchical Episcopacy was all but universal at the middle of the second century. Hence there must have been a change of constitution between 100 and 150. This was really brought about by the inner relations of the community (increase in numbers, the relations between Jerusalem and Antioch, Gnosticism). Episcopacy was modelled neither on the heathen organisations nor on the Jewish synagogue, but arose from the *inner needs* of the Church. Hilgenfeld regards this as not proven, and derives the Episcopacy from the rising spirit of Catholicism, having its roots in Jewish Christianity, which gave birth to the idea both of Apostolical succession and of the Bishop as a representative of Christ. In Ignatius he sees really an ideal constitution with a basis in reality, modelled on the Jerusalem community, which formed the ground-work of the heathen-Christian constitution.

Among other articles the one of most interest is that on "The Gospel-Book of Juvencus in its relation to the Biblical Text," by K. Marold. The Book is a poetic Gospel-harmony, of date 332. Matthew is the basis, but the other accounts are interwoven with it. The Biblical accounts are frequently embellished and "improved" in amusing fashion. Additions, too, are sometimes made, and these are often interesting as showing the method of interpretation at the time. The author proves that Juvencus was closely dependent on existing copies of the Itala, and holds that his book is of great value as a witness to the text of the Bible in use before Jerome. The text of Juvencus approaches most nearly to (a), (f'), and (h).

The remaining papers are one on some historical problems in the history of Diocletian and Constantine, the other a short note of defiance and contempt addressed by Hilgenfeld to one of his critics. There are also some valuable notices of books (e.g., that on Vatke's "Philosophy of Religion" and Lindemann's "Genuineness of the chief Pauline Letters").

FREDERICK J. RAE.

Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie.*XVI. Jahrgang. October 1890.*

NITZSCH's article on The Ethical Idea, if slight, is at least interesting. The spring of ethic is freewill, not the necessity which determinism asserts, whether the determinism be materialistic, resolving everything into nerves, or spiritual, believing in the self-existence of spirit generally, but looking on will as entirely ruled by "the total of present representations within the soul."

After stating a few of the outstanding ways of conceiving the nature of the ethical, Nitzsch offers a word of criticism on each. Hobbes and Hegel, each in his way, represent the ethical as the juridical. But law is an external standard, ethics an inner principle; and immorality may exist alongside of legality. Nor may the ethical be resolved into the theoretical, as is sometimes virtually done by Schleiermacher. Scientific knowledge is not wisdom in the ethical sense. Aristotle's identification of ἀρετή and ἐπιστήμη may not be pressed. The ethical must be such as can be conceived by the simplest mind. The identification of the ethical with the aesthetic accentuates a truth. Thus Schiller hails art as the unification of the moral and the intellectual, and represents "die schöne Seele" as "das höchste Ideal;" while Goethe allows Tasso to say "Erlaubt ist was gefällt." Certainly the aesthetic embodies truth, and is even capable of universal appeal; but it cannot be substituted for the morally good. After Rousseau, poetry sought to find the true ethic in a return to nature. No doubt, in a sense, to be moral is ὁμολογουμένως τῇ φύσει ζῆν, but if *empirical* nature be taken as the standard, the result will be a letting-go of self, which will issue in materialistic determinism. According to Kant, religion is only a part of ethic. Religion, however, may outrage morality, although the higher religions embody the ethical. Religion is a channel for the bestowal of divine good, and this good is ethical. Nor can morality succeed, as Kant and Fichte rightly assert, without a religious faith in the moral government of the world. Nitzsch's conclusion is that ethical doctrine is the science of the normal formation of human life, which indeed is partly determined by involuntary forces, but which, at the same time, is in large degree capable of self-determination by means of that inherent, inalienable element, freewill, which remains over and above all extraneous motives.

The second article, a translation from the Hungarian, gives an account of the Nazarean sect in Hungary. It recalls the Montanistic movement, and the author calls on the Reformed Churches to check its progress by means of a more vigorous spiritual life.

Ludwig Paul's article on "The Logos-doctrine in Justin Martyr" is of interest as touching the date of the Fourth Gospel. Paul asserts that what is true of the relation of Justin to the author of that Gospel, with respect to the doctrine of the logos, is also true of their literary relations, although what these relations are does not fully appear in the present article. With the characteristic arbitrariness of his school, Paul makes a good many statements which he does little to substantiate. The history given us in the New Testament records was (it needs hardly be said!) made to suit theologoumena. Justin's exegetical method shows how easily the highly developed representation of Christ in the Fourth Gospel could be reached. Justin allows that many Christians believe Jesus to be the Christ yet "man-born." This, says Paul, shows that history had not been quite forgotten when Justin wrote. Again, the mythical process as to Christ's miraculous deeds is as follows. If Jesus is Christ, He must come again. One who can come again must be a being of supernatural power. What man needs in faith he makes. So Christ was made a "wundermann;" and the doctrine of the immaculate conception followed as a consequence of the logos-idea. Justin's *γέννημα ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς* approaches nearly to that of the Fourth Gospel, but is not so completely developed. John is not indeed indebted directly to Justin, but both are witnesses of the same time because of the same thought.

Professor Krüger writes on the date of the composition of Justin's Apologies. Overbeck's date (c. 150) has come to be called the usual one, but Krüger contends for 138. Harnack has endeavoured to show that the first and second Apologies are one work, and is in favour of the date 152. Krüger, however, is convinced that the question of the unity or separateness of the two works does not bear at all on the dispute about the date. All that he can find to be at once germane to the matter and well-assured is the following:—

1. Justin died a martyr, 163-167.
2. The second Apology deals with a process instituted between 144 and 160, but it does not follow that the first Apology is of so late a date.
3. Eusebius's statement that the second work was written under Marcus Aurelius is contradicted in the document itself.
4. The Apologies were published separately.
5. The Preface of the greater work contributes to the settlement of the date.
6. The Preface points to the year 138 as the probable date of composition.

Dr Görres continues his new researches in the history of Church and State from Decius to Diocletian. He urges that the Gallus persecution, if not very considerable, is undervalued. The Roman

bishops, Cornelius and Lucius, were not martyrs but confessors. The Valerian storm was really due to the emperor's favourite, Macrianus. The rescripts prove that Valerian came to hope for the overthrow of the Christian religion through annihilation of the hierarchy. The charge against the Christians was sacrilege and hostility to the national gods; and the whole persecution was inopportune and not encouraged by the heathen masses. Gallienus's favourable attitude towards Christianity was due to his personal inertia and indifference to the old Roman religion and polity. The Claudian storm, Krüger declares unauthenticated. Aurelius till shortly before his death maintained a policy of *laissez faire*. Ruinart's statement that the Aurelian persecution took place in the emperor's name during a six months' interregnum after his death is unfounded. Accounts of persecutions under Probus and Carus are untrustworthy. Aubé's recommendation to substitute Valerian's name for Numerian's in accounts of persecutions associated with the reign of the latter, Krüger describes as audacious.

R. M. ADAMSON.

Editorial Summary.

THE most important of recent contributions to English Theology is the volume of Hibbert Lectures,¹ by the late Dr Hatch. It is a book full of ideas, and opening up new ways of looking at old problems. We can only mention it now, and reserve it for more particular examination than space at present permits. We welcome the completion of the English translation of the late Dr Delitzsch's Commentary on Isaiah,² a book full of learning and spiritual insight, conservative without being narrow, liberal without being rationalistic, and in this revised edition more useful than ever. Along with it we are glad to receive a new edition of Dillmann's Commentary on the same prophet.³ The value of

¹ *The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church.* By the late Edwin Hatch, D.D., &c. Edited by A. M. Fairbairn, D.D., &c. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. x., 359. 10s. 6d.

² *Biblical Commentary on the Prophecies of Isaiah.* By Franz Delitzsch, D.D. Translated from the Fourth Edition. With an Introduction by Professor S. R. Driver, D.D., Oxford. Vol. II. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 473. 10s. 6d.

³ *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament.* Fünfte Lieferung, Der Prophet Jesaja. Erklärt von Dr August Dillmann, &c.

Dillmann's Isaiah is known to every student of the Old Testament. We have no better Old Testament exegete among the Germans, no Old Testament critic with more of the note of sanity, whether among German or English scholars, and no better Commentary than this. It is indispensable to the student of Isaiah. The Commentary on the *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*,¹ in Meyer's series, appears in its seventh edition. It is a revision of Meyer's work by Professor Heinrici of Marburg. In several respects it is a very thorough revision, in matters of Textual Criticism almost a drastic revision. Much of the polemical discussion of the exegesis of Billroth, Rückert, and Hofmann, which was so abundant in Meyer, is omitted, and space has been gained for working in the results of more recent books, especially those dealing with questions of Biblical Theology, Gunkel's treatise on the Holy Spirit, Everling's on the Pauline Angelology and Demonology, &c. These add largely to the value of the Commentary. An interesting contribution to the study of the Theology of the New Testament is made by F. Spitta in his short treatise on 1 Peter iii. 19, &c.² He elaborates an ingenious interpretation, into the details of which we cannot enter. His main points, however, are that the *spirits* are fallen angels, that the *preaching* belongs to the pre-existence of Christ, and to the time before the Flood, and that the relative passage in ch. iv. 6 has no reference to Christ's descent to Hades, or His ministry to the spirits. Principal Cave's Congregational Union Lecture³ has been well received. It is now in its second and cheaper edition. It deals with such questions

Fünfte Auflage. Leipzig : Hirzel. Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 544. M. 8.

¹ H. A. W. Meyer's Kritisch exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament. Sechste Abtheilung, Der Zweite Brief an die Korinther. Siebente Auflage, bearbeitet von Dr C. F. Georg Heinrici, &c. Göttingen : Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 417. M. 5.40.

² Christi Predigt an die Geister, &c. Ein Beitrag zur Neutestamentlichen Theologie, von Friedrich Spitta. Göttingen : Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 68. M. 1.50.

³ The Inspiration of the Old Testament inductively considered, &c. By Alfred Cave, D.D., Principal of Hackney College. London : Congregational Union of England and Wales. Second Edition. 6s.

as the relations in which the Book of Genesis stands to ethnic tradition on the one hand and to science on the other, the Authorship of the Law, the Divine Origin of Law and Prophecy, and the general Old Testament doctrine of Inspiration. The author's distinctions between Hagiographic, Prophetic, Transcriptive, and Canonic Inspiration will not be readily accepted. But the book contains much matter, gathered carefully from different sources, which has to be considered in connection with the main question to which it addresses itself. The volume of the *Biblical Illustrator*¹ on *Philippians* is one of the best in the series. Where we have tested it, we have found it furnish extracts and digests which are really helpful to the understanding of the texts and to the preacher's purpose. The editor shows perception as well as diligence in the collection of thoughts and illustrative matter from so many different quarters. The *Sunday School Teacher*² has reached the fourth volume of the new series. This volume provides rich store of explanation, illustration, sample-lesson, and similar aids. Those engaged in the religious instruction of the young will find in it much to help and direct them in their work. An unknown author³ gives us a book in which, borrowing from the methods of physical science, he applies three tests to the Christian life. These are the *germ* test, the *colour* test, and the *brotherhood* test. The volume is very tasteful in form. The argument is somewhat strained, and there is a curious mixture of matter, yet it contains some interesting and ingenious remarks on morality and religion, on love as the "crimson" of Christianity, &c. Of a different order is the publication entitled *Read and Others v. The Lord Bishop of London*,⁴ which gives the Judgment pronounced in the Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury in a case of vital moment to the Church of England. This Judgment, which is now be-

¹ *The Biblical Illustrator*, &c. By Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A. *Philippians*. London: James Nisbet & Co. 8vo, pp. 316. 7s. 6d.

² *The Sunday School Teacher: a Biblical and Educational Magazine*, &c., Vol. IV. New Series. London: Sunday School Union. 8vo, pp. 572. (Price not stated.)

³ *Three Christian Tests*. London: Batsford. 8vo, pp. 97. 1s.

⁴ *Read, &c. Judgment*, Nov. 21, 1890. London: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. 122. 1s. 6d.

fore us in handy form, is likely to be one of historical interest. It is in many respects a masterly statement, which Bishop Stubbs has had much to do with, and which deserves every student's attention. The ninth volume of the *Theologischer Jahresbericht*¹ is now completed. It furnishes a *conspectus* of the literature of 1889. No department of Theology is overlooked, nor is any publication of any real importance, great or small, left unmentioned. The editor, Dr R. A. Lipsius, with the help of his large staff of *collaborateurs*, practically exhausts the field, and provides an invaluable book of reference. Much as has been done for our youth of late years in the matter of their religious instruction, a place remained for a volume such as we owe to a layman² who prefers to write anonymously. It is an attempt to reproduce the Gospel story in a series of short, realistic pictures, so that our Lord's life on earth may stand out in the power of its own simplicity and grace, and make its own impression of a Divine Manhood. The author has succeeded to a large extent in the discharge of his difficult but laudable task. The narrative is given in terms which are vivid, reverent, free from all artificiality and familiarity, in natural harmony with the subject, wisely addressed to the intelligence and imagination of young readers, and fitted to make real to them the beauty of Christ's life among men, and the power of His Spirit. It is, as the author hopes it may be, a book for mothers of all creeds to read to their children, and for children of later years to read for themselves. We have also a most welcome addition³ to the excellent "Story of the Nations" series. The author of the "History of Civilisation in Scotland" was the man to turn to for work of this kind, and he has justified the choice. His sketch of Scottish history is

¹ *Theologischer Jahresbericht*. Unter Mitwirkung von Baur, Benrath, &c., herausgegeben von R. A. Lipsius. Neunter Band, &c. Braunschweig: Schwetschke und Sohn. Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. x., 608. M. 12.

² *Jesus the Carpenter of Nazareth*. By a Layman. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 8vo, pp. vi., 458. 7s. 6d.

³ *Scotland from the Earliest Times to the Present Century*. By John Mackintosh, LL.D. London: T. Fisher Unwin. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Large cr. 8vo, pp. 328. Price 5s.

not free indeed from certain faults, such as an occasional roughness and baldness of style and a lack of proportion in the several parts. But it more than compensates for these by the solid qualities of knowledge, compact statement, and sympathy with the national life. It does not concern us to pronounce any opinion on the account which he gives of the secular story of Scotland, the action of political parties, or the long tale of battle. But as regards the history of religion in our country, we are glad to see that Dr Mackintosh allows it adequate space, and deals with it in a way worthy of the large part it has played in the development of that "distinct and intense nationality," the capacity of which he describes. He throws his whole heart into the story of the Reformation and into that of the great religious movements of later date—the Covenanting Struggle and the Disruption of the Church of Scotland. He has very definite views on these movements, on the prominent actors in them, and on their issues. They are views which have been matured by prolonged study of the times and the events, and they are expressed with frank decision. They will not be accepted by all. They will be strongly contested by some. We are ourselves in hearty agreement with them in the main matters. Even those who may differ from Dr Mackintosh in some of his estimates will see that he is always on the side of liberty and the Evangel. We have also before us Hoskier's important *Full Account and Collation of the Cursive Codex Evangelium 604* (London, Nutt), three volumes of the late Bishop Lightfoot's Sermons, published by Messrs Macmillan, and worthy of his name, &c., &c.

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Dean Church.

THE GIFTS OF CIVILISATION, AND OTHER SERMONS AND LECTURES DELIVERED AT OXFORD AND ST PAUL'S. *By the late R. W. Church, M.A., D.C.L., Dean of St Paul's, Honorary Fellow of Oriel. (New Edition.)* London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix., 379. Price 7s. 6d.

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT. TWELVE YEARS. 1833-1845. *By R. W. Church, M.A., D.C.L., sometime Dean of St Paul's, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.* London: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. x., 358. Price 12s. 6d. nett.

MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS. *Collected Edition.* London: Macmillan & Co. 5 vols., Globe 8vo. 5s. each.

WITH the late Dean of St Paul's there passed away an eminently characteristic figure—a figure characteristic of England, of the English Church, of the University of Oxford of which he was one of the truest sons.

When I speak of England I mean it not only in the wider sense of the British Islands as contrasted with the Continent, but also in the narrower sense of one of the three kingdoms as contrasted with the other two. The distinctness in spirit of this narrower England is rather pointedly illustrated in the late Dean's posthumous volume on *The Oxford Movement*. He is quoting from some contemporary impressions of Newman's preaching. One of the extracts is from Principal Shairp of St Andrews, who knew both Newman and his own countrymen.

"When he began to preach, a stranger was not likely to be much struck. Here was no vehemence, no declamation, no show of elaborated argument, so that one who came prepared to hear 'a great intellectual effort' was almost sure to go away disappointed. Indeed we believe that if he had preached one of his St Mary's sermons before a Scotch town congregation, they would have thought the preacher a 'silly body.'"

The other is a quotation from the Irish historian, Mr Justin McCarthy, which is referred to in his "Reminiscences"

by Sir F. Doyle. Mr McCarthy is evidently speaking of Newman as he knew him at Dublin, after his secession.

"In all the arts that make a great preacher or orator, Cardinal Newman was deficient. His manner was constrained and ungraceful, and even awkward; his voice was thin and weak, his bearing was not at first impressive in any way—a gaunt emaciated figure, a sharp eagle face, and a cold meditative eye, rather repelled than attracted those who saw him for the first time."

In the previous extract Principal Shairp had spoken of "the beauty, the silver intonation of Mr Newman's voice as he read the lessons." And Sir Francis Doyle goes on to compare Mr McCarthy's disparaging remarks with his own impressions of Newman at Oxford.

"His manner, it is true, may have been self-repressed, constrained it was not. His bearing was neither awkward nor ungraceful; it was simply quiet and calm, because under strict control; but beneath that calmness, intense feeling, I think, was obvious to those who had any instinct of sympathy with him."

Something, no doubt, may be allowed for the transference of the preacher to a different and less congenial atmosphere; but something must also have been lacking to the eye of the observer. His sympathy with the subject of his description must have been imperfect. Let me recall, too, the admirable comments of Dr Fairbairn in the last number of this *Review*.

"What is curious is that in spite of his changes, and the invincible logic by which they were worked, his power remained specifically Anglican, never became distinctively Roman. . . . He was happy in the home he had made for himself, but he was so potent as to be a real and effectual presence only in the home he had left."

Now Cardinal Newman and the late Dean of St Paul's were cast in a similar mould. I hope in a moment to speak of the individual differences between them; but beneath those differences they had much in common. And if we look up and take a wider glance, I think we shall see that that common element was distinctive of the Church to which they both belonged, and the school in which they had their nurture.

How deeply attached the Dean was to his University, and

how closely he identified it with the Movement of which he was one of the brightest ornaments, will appear from more places than one of the volume on which I have just been drawing. That "short scene of religious earnestness and aspiration, with all that there was in it of self-devotion, affectionateness, and high and refined and varied character," was the picture in large of him who has told its story with the insight and the tenderness of one who is on his own hearth and speaking of his own.

The impression which an outside reader will probably draw from Dean Church's book, is that the strength of the Movement which he thus represents, lay not so much in the system of thought to which it gave expression, as in the moral impulse which gave it birth, and which it reflects with so much intensity. As a system of thought it is the Anglican tradition proper, as transmitted through the Caroline divines and the Non-jurors, defined and deepened, though with the sharpness of its definition in part obscured by the tendency which developed in some of its leaders to break away Rome-wards. The type of character which it produced is one of great beauty. There is a subdued tone about it, even in the Hotspurs or Ruperts of the party, like Hurrell Froude, which is singularly attractive. "I refrain my soul and keep it low," might have been taken for the motto of the whole Movement—at least in its earlier stages. The fire was there, the motive force, the passionate devotion, but it was strictly controlled and chastened. How significant is it that Dean Church should write the history of events in which he was a prominent actor, and never once mention his own name! He does not avoid the first person singular, for it appears in the Preface and also in the body of the book—but for the first time, if I mistake not, on the last page*! May I be forgiven for asking if a Scotsman or an Irishman ever performed a feat like this, or an Englishman, for that matter, outside this charmed circle? I can believe that there may be examples—*bene latere* is an English virtue—but I should like to know of them.

* It occurs in two notes, but not, I believe, in the text, by the author speaking in his own person.

The characteristic which distinguished Dean Church among his fellows, was his wide general culture. If the word had not been so often profaned, we might have been tempted to call him in a special sense the "theologian of culture." The range of his reading and knowledge was extremely wide. The Merovings and Carlings (in the "Epochs of History" volume), St Anselm, Dante, the Early Ottomans, Spenser, Hooker, Bacon, Browning's Sordello, all figure in his gallery. And his touch was before all things that of the man of letters. We feel that he is always trying to seize and portray the sentiment of the situation, its pathos, its poetry, the characters in the drama. I confess that for myself I have sometimes wished, not that this element were away—far from it—but that it were rather more sparingly interspersed, that it bore not quite so large a proportion to plain narrative. I do not, however, mean this to apply to *The Oxford Movement*, the form of which seems to me appropriate to the matter.

When one compares Dean Church with a professed historian like Döllinger, one feels the difference. In range they were not so very unequal. The Dean begins with Clovis and comes down to our own day. There was no part of this wide field with which he was not more or less acquainted. And he too conducted his studies at first hand. He was familiar with the original documents. And yet after all, is it not the work of a highly gifted amateur? What historical problem is there that the Dean of St Paul's can be said to have solved? On what critical question has he thrown new light? A mind like Dr Döllinger's, one can see, was always on the watch for new problems, never resting in its criticism, working more below ground than above. That is what one means by science as applied to history. And the Tractarian Movement was not seen at its best on the side of science. I do not mean that the Dean of St Paul's was unscientific or uncritical; but these were not the prominent interests with him. Only one member of the party can I think of with whom they were a prominent interest—Arthur West Haddan. In the joint-editor with Dr Stubbs of the *Councils and Ecclesiastical documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, in the author of that very solid and strongly argumentative

work on the *Apostolical Succession*, and of the series of articles collected after his death in the volume of *Remains*, we are in the presence of a really critical mind—a mind of tough fibre, which did not shrink, and had no reason to shrink, from the work of probing and laying foundations. In A. W. Haddan the Church of England, and the Tractarian party in particular, lost an intellect that it could ill spare, all too soon.

With the Dean of St Paul's the human interest overshadowed everything else. History with him did not deal with abstractions. For him it was full of life and colour. Not of life in the sense of stir and movement and dramatic action, still less in that of an indiscriminate realism, but in the sense in which

“The meanest flower that blows can give
Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears.”

The wine, one feels, is strained off from the lees; but how pure and fragrant is the quality of the vintage which remains! How lovingly does the thought dwell and play round the objects of its selection!

There is a wisdom, which is not science and not exactly philosophy, but which comes from ripe experience, from reading, from native sympathy with all things high and noble. Such wisdom catches a thousand traits which escape the common observer; and the Dean of St Paul's possessed it in a conspicuous degree.

If I am not misled by freshness of perusal, the best of all his books and the one most likely to live is his last. I do not think that Döllinger could have written such a book. His mind was of too dry a light. His pen would have been chilled by the sense of wider outside issues. No doubt, to be fully appreciated, the author must have his standpoint granted him. It is the history of a party written from an avowed party point of view. The wealth of tender and affectionate remembrance which the book discloses is reserved for a limited circle. There are not, as it happens, many kind words for those without. I say, “as it happens,” because it is well known that the Dean of St Paul's had points of contact,

and warm contact, with many who differed from himself in political or ecclesiastical colour. The book is a tale of combat by one who was himself a combatant, and who does not disguise on which side he fought. But I doubt if any of the books which have been recently written—and there have been several good ones—will convey the impression that the men who fought with him were really of such heroic or saintly mould.

I have spoken of the Dean of St Paul's in connection with Newman; and it is natural to compare the two men. In the Dean the element of what is usually called genius—the subtle erratic visionary or undisciplined element was wanting. It would have been impossible for the Dean to write the *Grammar of Assent*. His reading was wider, and far more evenly distributed over subjects and periods. His judgment was sounder and more balanced. Newman, one cannot help feeling, with all his amazing fertility of ideas, was not on the main lines of things. The Dean of St Paul's, some of us may think, was not altogether on the main lines—that must be as it may—but, at any rate, he was nearer to them, and he saw what he saw of them more justly and more comprehensively.

In style, of course, Newman is inimitable. Such idiomatic ease, simplicity, and grace, such lightness and delicacy of touch, so keen an edge wielded so surely, is not given to another. His style is best in preaching, in the fence of argument, on personal ground like the *Apologia*, not in history. Newman's greatest power was in searching the heart, by turning on it the lamp of severe and high-toned religion.

And yet the Dean of St Paul's too drew a bow of strength. His writings are full of fine and elevated passages. With him too, the awe of the unseen was ever present, and gives his words a loftier flight and aim. In his style there is nothing common or conventional. He has an ample and rich command of diction. His warmth of sympathy, his many-sided observation, his sensitiveness to all that is pathetic or beautiful, his singleness of motive and essential purity of soul, invest his writing with the qualities which were inherent in the man. I doubt if he has ever surpassed some of the character-sketches in the latest volume to which I have referred so

often. In this the familiarity of the theme seems to give just that ease and freedom which his hand sometimes wanted.

For it must be confessed that he has not as a rule the flexibility of the leader whom he first followed and then lost. His sermons, excellent as they are in their way, are not so perfect, and can hardly have had the same effect. There is a little too much of the lecture about them. The periods are rather monotonous in construction. They are overcharged with matter. There is not that delightful sense of measure, the sure avoidance of the "too much," which we get in Newman. They are the sermons of a scholar who is deeply in earnest about religion, and who himself breathes its most "empyrean air;" but they do not so touch the common heart of humanity; they do not so pierce "to the dividing asunder of joints and marrow."

The Dean of St Paul's stayed with us long, and he rendered many services to his Church and nation, besides those which he did by his writings. But of all his services there is none greater than the stimulus which he has left to all whom his influence reaches, to be as like him as they can.

W. SANDAY.

Die Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften des Alten Testaments.

Entworfen von Ed. Reuss, zweite Ausgabe, Braunschweig, Schwetschke. 1890. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 780 pp. 15s.

THE veteran author calls his work a History of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, or, according to nomenclature common in this country, an Introduction; it is, in fact, an Encyclopedia. It embraces the public and domestic history of Israel and all the prominent men who had part in it, the literature and thought, the art and archæology, and the general life of the people in all its forms, from the dawn of history or earlier till the fall of Jerusalem before Titus. There is nothing that escapes the writer or is left untouched; what he does not know is not knowledge. In such circumstances criticism can do little but signify the appearance of

the book. For where is the good of telling the author that readers will differ from him? his answer is already given—if he had said the opposite things from those he has said, readers would differ from him. The subjects treated are of such a kind that agreement upon them, for some time to come at least, is not to be expected.

The author's general critical position is well known. It would not be fair to call him an adherent of the theory associated in this country more with other names, as those of Graf and Wellhausen; he claims to be the author of it. Nearly sixty years ago, in 1834, before Vatke's memorable *Old Testament Theology* or *George's Feasts* had appeared, when Reuss was a young, unknown lecturer, propounding with some hesitation his theory of the literature of Israel, the "unforgettable Graf" was a student in his lecture-room. That theory, which stood before Reuss's mind in those years more as an intuition than a reasoned thesis, was to the effect that "the Prophets are earlier than the Law, and the Psalms are later than both." With the necessary additions in details, the formula expresses the present phase of Old Testament criticism. The present volume is furnished with two very interesting prefaces, that to the first and that to the second edition; the latter is an amusing piece of raillery of the author's critics, in which their incompetence and want of conscientious knowledge are mercilessly exposed. Though the author be, as he tells us, in the middle of his ninth decade, the edge of his wit has not lost its keenness. The other preface is an interesting fragment of autobiography, which takes us back to a time when currents of thought were running very different from those now prevailing. In the early years of the second quarter of the century it was the "miracles" that disturbed men's minds, and the world was engrossed in the pursuit of fantastic naturalistic explanations of them. It was miracles of another kind that occupied the attention of Reuss. One miracle which he could not get over was how a system of artificial and elaborate details, like the Levitical ritual, could stand at the head of Israel's religious development. And another was, how five or six dozen psalms should be written about Saul and Absalom without the faintest allusion to the names of these

persons appearing in them. Such questions as these occupied the author's mind ; it seemed to him that making the Law earlier than the Prophets was like putting the Roman Mass before the Sermon on the Mount. Though he had convictions, however, he had not the courage of them. He believed the world had something else to do than listen to him. Vatke's book, which might have shown him that other minds were moving in the same direction as his own, he left unread, deterred by the thorn-hedge of Hegelian formulas which barred the way to it. Meanwhile time wore on, and while he procrastinated others were active. The citadel which he had captured, in idea at least, by dropping into it as upon wings, was being gradually approached by one elaborate earthwork after another, and when at last it fell, it fell into other hands than his.

The author's work consists of three elements throughout : positive statement, critical support of it, and illustrative literature. First he presents a historical paragraph containing the outline and main facts of the particular matter as he conceives it ; each of the points contained in this paragraph is then supported and illustrated by historical and critical notes ; and intermixed with these are lists of relative books. The literature referred to is enormous, though the author assures us that the title of no book is given which he has not actually in his own possession. Naturally he abstains from any criticism of this literature. At this time of day three-fourths of it must be worthless, though to an antiquarian it may have some interest as marking how one position after another has been gained. The whole time covered by his book the author divides into four periods : the heroic age—from the conquest to David ; the prophetic age—from David to the exile (586) ; the age of the priests, as far down as the Maccabees (c. 150) ; and finally, the age of the Scribes. Though the author differs from other representatives of the newest school in many points of detail, his system as a reconstruction of the history of Hebrew Literature is in substantial agreement with theirs. The Law, for example, is to be referred to the third of the periods just mentioned, and the Psalter to the last. To the first age belongs the song of Deborah, though not written by her. The

contribution of Moses lay rather in the spirit which he breathed into the people, though he may have organised some civil institutions, probably also sanctioned some ritual observances, for it may not be without meaning that he and the Levites belonged to one tribe. The decalogue in either of the forms in which it appears (Exod. xx., Deut. v.) can hardly be from him. These forms, however, are in all likelihood expansions of the original cast; the ten words may all at first have been as brief as the sixth, seventh, and eighth, and in this form there is less objection to their Mosaic origin, though the prohibition of graven images can hardly go so far back. There was a ritual tradition and practice very early, certainly in the time of the early monarchy, but that is a very different thing from saying that laws regulating the priestly actions were so early written down.

In regard to the literature of the prophetic period, Reuss is again in general agreement with the newest school. As to David, it is certain that he was a poet; that he wrote some religious hymns is possible, but if so it is altogether impossible to say which if any of those that exist. The Jehovist, as he is called, is assigned by the author to the second half of the ninth century, earlier than others place him, on the ground that the oldest prophets, Amos and Hosea, are familiar with his writing. Reuss makes no pretension to disentangle the elements of his work from those of another writer, the minor Elohists; but considers that the history of Paradise and the Fall, usually attributed to him, cannot have been written by him, though possibly assumed into his work. As to some matters on which opinions differ, Reuss continues to regard Joel as the oldest of the written prophecies; some writers, he allows, find the prophet's book confused, but that only shows that the critics could have done it better; the only thing that awakens doubt in his mind is the smoothness of the style and the literary polish of the book—the characteristic, by the way, which mainly induces Ewald to assign a high antiquity to the book. Some scholars have found an occasion of stumbling in the Book of Micah, detecting interpolations in chaps. iv., v., and feeling obliged to assign chaps. vi., vii., to a later time. Reuss professes that he is not sensible of the difficulties.

The confession is honest, but also suggestive. The author's critical feeling is not characterized by sensitiveness. He is sagacious, and gauges with judgment a large situation, but in delicate matters he is less at home. The reader of his commentaries has not seldom an unpleasant feeling of inadequacy. Real difficulties are apt to be overlooked, and when observed hurried out of sight with a pauper's funeral. The author's healthy sense gives weight to his positive conclusions, he is never foolish nor the victim of his critical nerves, but a greater delicacy of touch might reveal some things which escape him. The absence of all linguistic criticism from the present work is a curious feature.

It is needless to refer to the author's views regarding the Law, which are well known. The Ritual Law, he holds, belongs to the time of Ezra, though the last touches were not put to it till after his day. His judgment also upon the historical setting of the laws should not be concealed. This setting he affirms is not history, it is *schema*, a religious ideal thrown back into the Mosaic age. The Tabernacle, the arrangement of the tribes in camp and its parade day by day in the wilderness, is "bare Fiction." In regard to the Psalter the author, of course, admits that some psalms may date from the monarchy, and others from the exile, but his contention is that the bulk of them (die Psalmen der Mehrzahl nach) belong to the Maccabean age, when the people of Israel were oppressed and their religion persecuted by the rulers of the Syro-Greek dynasty. His main argument is the tone that pervades so many of the psalms, those who speak are the persecuted "poor" and "meek," their persecutors are the "wicked," the "violent man," that is the heathen. The complainant in the psalms is naturally an individual, what he expresses is his own feeling and his own trouble, but these are common to him with the community, and his voice may be held that of the congregation. The question is scarcely so simple a one as the author thinks. Ps. xviii., which some regard as the sole extant utterance of David's muse, already speaks of the "meek people" (v. 27; the distinction between *ani* and *anav* is a Massoretic fiction). The linguistic question, already complicated enough, will receive new com-

plications. In contrast with Ecclesiastes some of these supposed very late psalms might be regarded as models of Hebrew composition. How, too, account for the fact that the musical headings of such compositions became with so little interval of time completely unintelligible to the Septuagint translators?

The above remarks indicate the author's main positions. Any attempt to criticise them would have been to open up questions of interminable dimensions. It may be remarked in conclusion that if the author's method of conjoining the history and the literature has advantages, it is also attended with serious drawbacks. No subject is fully discussed in any one place; in order to discover the author's views, on such a topic as the Psalter, the reader has to turn to half a dozen sections scattered over the whole 800 pages of the book.

[Since the above was printed, news has come of the death of Prof. Reuss, at the age of eighty-seven.]

A. B. DAVIDSON.

The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Churches.

*By the late Edwin Hatch, D.D. Edited by A. M. Fairbairn, D.D.
Second Edition. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Nor-
gate. 8vo, pp. xxiii., 353. Price 10s. 6d.*

THE late Dr Hatch's Hibbert Lectures have been very carefully and successfully edited by Dr Fairbairn and Mr Vernon Bartlet. They have enriched the volume with additional notes and references. It is difficult to imagine it would have been much, if any, superior to what it is, if the learned author had lived to see it through the press. Yet all must deplore his untimely death, not only because what he did raised large hopes of still higher work, but also because these Lectures themselves are confessedly incomplete in range and treatment. Sometimes they suggest doubts which he could have set at rest, and sometimes leave previous questions unanswered. Throughout the volume we are reminded of the Editor's warning, and feel its necessity, that the book ought to be

judged within the limits the author himself has drawn. But this only increases our profound regret that Dr Hatch's constructive intellect had not full opportunity to co-ordinate the results of his analysis, and erect a statelier structure on the ruins of what he has with unsparing hand demolished. The lecturer himself saw that his work only cleared the ground. Near the close of the volume he observes: "The question which forces itself upon our attention as the phenomena pass before us in review, is the question of the relation of these Greek elements in Christianity to the nature of Christianity itself." This question he has left unanswered. Regarded in itself the volume is largely destructive. It is but justice to bear in mind that the author considered he was only doing preliminary work. What the new superstructure would have been, probably no one outside the circle of his most intimate friends can form any notion. Some may be disposed to think that the task of erecting it would not have been so successfully achieved. To say the least, it would have been a work worthy of his great powers and learning.

The Lectures appear to have had at once a wider and a narrower aim. The larger scope is the influence of Greece upon Christianity; the smaller subject is the change in the centre of gravity from conduct to belief, or, as it is aptly put, the transition from the Sermon on the Mount to the Nicene Creed. The influence of Greece on the Christian Church is a subject too vast in its ramifications to be satisfactorily discussed within the compass of these twelve lectures. Much interesting, often new matter is introduced, which it would be a decided loss to omit. Light is thrown again and again on side issues and subordinate points. But the subject itself is perhaps too difficult to attack with present materials and appliances. Dr Hatch truly says that, "the evidence as to the mode in which the causes operated within the Christian sphere before the final effects were produced is singularly imperfect." Few, if any, will deny that the attempts hitherto made to trace the influence of Greece on the Church have met with but questionable success.

Our author does wisely in pursuing the plainer, if humbler, path of considering only how far certain facts in the life of

Greece are *adequate* to produce certain phenomena in the history of early Christianity. He prosecutes his enquiry in the true spirit of scientific history; he culls fresh flowers at almost every step; he brings to light indubitable traces of influences in directions little dreamt of, and he gathers together a mass of most interesting and pertinent knowledge for the use of the possible constructive historian that is yet to come. But more than this cannot be said. The general question of Greek influence on Christianity is still an unsolved problem.

On the narrower subject of the Lectures, the transition from morals to dogmatics, a considerable amount of very interesting matter contained in the volume bears only indirectly. Such are the Lectures on Greek education, rhetoric, ethics, and the mysteries. It must also be admitted that these subjects have been investigated by other scholars with more or less result. But nowhere else will the student find the field cultivated with more success, not by Harnack even, and point after point stated with greater lucidity than in Dr Hatch's eloquent words. We wrote "eloquent" almost spontaneously, and we will not withdraw the expression, notwithstanding the hard things he has said about the great Christian preachers of the early church. In his Lecture on Rhetoric he tells us "that rhetoric killed philosophy," and "that Christianity purchased conquest at the price of reality" when the race of eloquent talkers persuaded it to assimilate its language to their own. When we call to mind that this is intended to apply to such men as Chrysostom, Basil, and Gregory of Nazianzum, we can only reply that their lives would be the best proof of their sincerity and of the "reality" of their preaching. Dr Hatch has confounded oratory and sophistry. We do not believe that the disappearance of the sophistical element from Christian preaching means the survival only of impromptu addresses and sudden inspirations. Our author's own Lectures are specimens of true eloquence, but they are neither the utterances of a prophet nor the rhetoric of a religionist.

What appears to the present writer as the most serious defect in Dr Hatch's Lectures is his persistent ignoring of the

theological element in the New Testament itself. Admitting, provisionally, that the theological conceptions which underlie the Sermon on the Mount belong to the ethical rather than the speculative side of theology, and supposing, further, for the sake of argument, that the Apostle Paul wrote only four of the Epistles usually ascribed to him (for Romans, Galatians, and First and Second Corinthians are confessedly his), it is beyond a doubt that these Epistles are metaphysical to the core. They develop a peculiar form of theology, and the theological system which they set forth is based on certain metaphysical conceptions concerning God, Jesus Christ, sin, redemption, law, faith, and the connection between faith, righteousness, and sanctification. It used to be the fashion to distinguish widely between the moralist of Nazareth and the theological thinker who spoilt the proverbial ethics of his Master by converting Christianity into a theology. At any rate, that St Paul had theological conceptions of a very abstract and speculative character, no one, we presume, would think of denying. It happens that the group of epistles now generally admitted to have been written by him are the nearest approach to a complete theological system of any of the so-called Pauline epistles. If this is true, we have to explain, first and foremost, the transition from the Sermon on the Mount to St Paul's epistles, and then, secondarily, to the Nicene Creed. Before we are justified in tracing the Creed to Greek influences, we have to show, either that there are conceptions in the Creed which do not underlie the Apostle's theology, or else that he himself derived these conceptions from the Greek philosophers. Dr Hatch, unfortunately, makes no attempt to handle either of these alternative suppositions. On the contrary, he leaves on the reader's mind an impression that the theology of the Creed is not a foreign importation into the circle of Greek thought, but an absorption of the ethical teaching of our Lord into pre-existing Greek ideas, resulting in a theology. Our author actually asserts that "the Greek Christianity of the fourth century was rooted in Hellenism." We readily admit Hellenic influence. But study of St Paul was infinitely more influential. To determine the comparative extent of the one influence and the

other, a perusal of such writers as Origen and Athanasius is sufficient. We think the result would be more truly stated in this form,—“the Greek Christianity of the fourth century was rooted in Paulinism, but it assimilated Hellenic elements and assumed in consequence a more logical shape.” We should be glad to know how Dr Hatch would have answered the questions, How far was St Paul’s theological system original? and, Are there any theological ideas in the Nicene Creed which cannot be traced back to St Paul? Our author is careful to notice the *usages* of the Church in the apostolic age. But this only renders it the more unaccountable that he should have almost completely ignored the Pauline theology.

Notwithstanding these shortcomings, the Lectures are admirable, full of fresh and unexpected inferences, containing a vast collection of proofs from sources new to most students, placing in their hands the very latest conclusions of Harnack, who is credited with knowing more about the second century than any man living, and written with a glow of earnest eloquence, which, however, is not allowed to affect the author’s scientific method and historical truthfulness.

T. C. EDWARDS.

Hiob.

Nach J. G. E. Hoffmann. Kiel: Haeseler. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo. Pp. 106. Price M. 2.

OF essays on that masterpiece of Hebrew poetry, the Book of Job, we have no lack; it is not primarily with the Hebrew poet, but with his latest commentator that I have to do. My business is to report concerning a small tractate of 106 pages, costing two shillings, the value of which to the student, in spite of serious drawbacks, is out of all proportion to its size and market price. If in the course of my report I introduce too much of my own speculation, the reader must pardon me, because since the year 1887 I have not expressed an opinion on problems not yet solved to my satisfaction. Dr George Hoffmann, whose early Oxford friends have not forgotten him,

professes the Semitic languages in the most northerly German university (Kiel), like Nöldeke before him. From time to time he has offered strikingly original explanations of difficult passages in the Old Testament, and now he presents us with a continuous version of Job which has been tested and re-tested by himself and to a certain extent by his pupils, to whom he has lent it in manuscript, to illustrate his lectures on the Book of Job. Professor Hoffmann is above all things a philologist, and it is this which gives special value to his work. I wish indeed that he could have been somewhat less original, and that received ideas of Hebrew idiom and exegesis could have been less frequently shocked. But the reader shall form his own opinion upon this presently. First of all, something must be said on the author's view of the connexion of thought in the Book, and in relation to this, on the results of his critical analysis. For there is no denying it; critical analysis there must be. As Messrs Vigfusson and York Powell have said of the Eddic poems, "The great books of old time are accretions, our Psalter is such a one, Homer is such a one, the Sagas are such." Without a distinction of parts in such books a faithful exegesis is often impossible, and the chief historical lessons which they teach are missed. Professor Hoffmann feels this, and so he opens the book with the following table, which I copy in all its obscurity:—

Job . . . i.—xxiv. 12.

Bildad xxv., xxiv. 13-25.

xxvi.—xxvii. 2-6.

Zophar xxvii. 7—xxviii. 28.

xxix. 2—xxxi. 34, 38-40b, 35-37.

xxxviii. 1-13a, 14a, 16-22, 24—xxxix. 30.

xl. 15—xli. 5-26.

xl. 2-14.

xlii.

Elihu xxxii. 1, 6—xxxiv. 1-22, 24-28, 23, 29-37.

The Disturber xxvii. 1, xxix. 1, xxxi. 40c, xxxii. 2-5, xxxviii. 13b, 14b, 15, 23, xl. 1, xli. 1-4.

The obscurity is simply due to the fact that the names of Bildad and Zophar are only mentioned once. From iii. 1 to xxiv. 12, Professor Hoffmann follows the revised text in the arrangement of the speeches. He differs from it, however, as

to the third speech of Bildad and Zophar respectively, and as to the replies made to these by Job, and, again, as to the arrangement of that splendid speech of Yahvé which, as he thinks, closes the original book. But he agrees with it as to most of the Elihu portion (he has accidentally omitted to put down chaps. xxxv. and xxxvi.), which he rightly describes, not as an interpolation, but as a well-meaning supplement. Still this beautiful work has not wholly escaped the destructive hand of an orthodox zealot, who has marred the symmetry of the poem by his dislocations and interpolations. Upon this violent "disturber" of the peace, this "son of the twilight" (cf. Job xxiv. 16), the author pours out the vials of his indignation.

I have not space to discuss this new arrangement. It has its weak side; chap. xxviii., for instance, is not happily placed in a speech of Zophar. But the chief result is altogether satisfactory, viz., that this fresh and original scholar, who, as his note on p. 27 shows, is independent to a fault, recognises the necessity of a partial re-arrangement of the contents of the Book. He is, no doubt, more at ease in his mind on some questions than I am myself. To me it seems at any rate doubtful whether, when chaps. i. and ii. were written, the author had any thought of following them up by the discussion which follows, and even whether he wrote them at all—whether, in short, chaps. i. and ii. may not once have formed part of a narrative Book of Job, analogous to that of Tobit (*Job and Solomon*, p. 66). Professor Hoffmann, however, makes one remark of great interest which bears upon this question. The mention of Job in Ezek. xiv. 14 implies, in his opinion, that Ezekiel knew an earlier Book of Job upon which our present book is to some extent modelled, and which had for its theme a more complete proof of Job's righteousness, and for its *dénouement* a still more miraculous healing of Job, parallel to the deliverance of Daniel from the lions' den. This may or may not be the best reason for postulating an earlier Book of Job; enough that this candid student finds nothing strange in the hypothesis that there was one. Accepting his view, it becomes easier to understand the very singular description of the ideal righteous sufferer, in Isa. liii. 4, 5, as a leper; the

motive of the passage is suggested by the old folk-tale. In justice to myself, I should add that I fully grant that the author of the Colloquies prefixed, not only chap. iii., but also chaps. i. and ii. to the speeches of Job and his friends. I have, therefore, no interest in explaining away points of contact between the Prologue and the Colloquies. I certainly cannot find one in xvi. 7 (where point וְעַל), and I hesitate to accept those suggested by Professor Hoffmann in v. 21, xv. 4, xviii. 14. Still, not to speak of the references to Job's illness in the speeches, viii. 4 and xxix. 5 do contain undeniable allusions to the death of his children, and dramatic consistency was not a point likely to preoccupy the author of Job.

I can admit, therefore, that the Prologue, by whomsoever written, is to all intents and purposes a portion of the true Book of Job. So, too, according to Professor Hoffmann, is the Epilogue. I am much more doubtful about this (*cf. Job and Solomon*, pp. 38, 59, 69).^{*} Minor inconsistencies between the Epilogue on the one hand, and the Prologue and the Colloquies on the other, may, perhaps, be got over. But great inconsistency remains—a passionately-earnest teacher returning at the close of his work to the very doctrine which he has attacked and refuted. It may be replied that Job in the Epilogue is a type of the people of Israel, and that the object of the writer in this part of his work is to keep alive the hope of national restoration (*cf. Davidson, The Book of Job*, *Introd.*, p. xxxv.). But the Job of the Colloquies at any rate is a type, sometimes of the class of righteous sufferers, sometimes of suffering humanity in general, nowhere of the people of Israel. The poem is not a drama, but a poetical discussion of an insoluble problem. It has, indeed, a plot, but a plot which makes and can make no progress, because the suffering of humanity, apart from revelation, is irremediable. The only possible close of the poem, if the writer is not untrue to his deepest convictions, is that the Satan should confess before Yahvé and the court of heaven that there are "perfect and upright" men who serve God without interested motives.

^{*} I cannot see why the book of Job (like Koheleth) may not have been left in an unfinished state by the author. Nägelsbach makes a similar remark respecting the author (?) of Isaiah xl.-lxvi.

These are, as it were, the flowers of humanity, whose existence might reconcile a sympathetic angel to the sight of so many tears which he cannot wipe away. Professor Hoffmann, however, does not appear to see that Job is a typical person. The advance which the Book of Job makes as compared with the Second Isaiah consists, according to him, in the liberation of the ideal embodied in the servant of Yahvé from its national dress and its typical significance, though he also says that the Job of the Colloquies is more obviously invented to serve a theory than his model, the servant of Yahvé, and he uses language respecting the rhetoric of the poet which may seem to some scarcely justified. I cannot, therefore, expect him to agree with me as to the Epilogue.

And what is our author's view of the date? As I have just indicated, he makes the Book of Job later (on general theoretic grounds) than the Second Isaiah, and later also than the Book of Zechariah, the unity of which he boldly and ingeniously defends. Not only is the Satan of Job i. and ii. modelled on passages in Zech. i. and iii., but Job xxxi. 36 is, according to him, dependent on Zech. vi. 11, and Job xlii. 10 on Zech. ix. 12 (where he reads ܐܪܡܝܐ 'fruit,' *Aramaicè*). More questionable, we are told, is the influence of Zech. xiv. 6, 7, on Job iii. 4. Now, I am not one of those who would abolish the argument from parallel passages altogether, but it would take a great deal to persuade me that any of the greater writers of Job (I pass by the Epilogue) were dependent on a book like Zechariah. It is noteworthy that our author mentions no parallelisms of expression between Job and the Second Isaiah. No doubt there are but few which have the highest degree of probability. Prof. Strack will only hear of two (Job xii. 24, 25, Isa. xix. 11-14; and Job xiv. 11, Isa. xix. 5), and declares that the author of Job cannot have known a complete collection of 'Isaianic discourses' (*Einleitung in das A. T.*, pp. 60, 61). But most will at any rate add Job xvi. 17, Isa. liii. 9b, and maintain that either the poet of Job borrowed from the author of Isa. lii. 13—liii. 12 (or some form of this half-threnody, half-encomium), or *vice versa*. Passing next to the argument from ideas, can we say that Prof. Hoffmann materially strengthens the argument of his

predecessors? He repeats the argument of Vatke that, being equally monotheistic with the Second Isaiah, without his theocratic limitations, the writer or writers of Job must be later than that great prophet. Like Vatke again, he is struck by the indications which Job has been thought to present of contact with the religion of Ahura Mazda. Whether he has investigated this point afresh, I do not know. He ought, however, to have said that if the poet of Job has been influenced by Mazdaism, he has well disguised his doubt. The argument of de Harlez on the other side (*Les origines du Zoroastrisme*, 1879, pp. 301-307) requires some rectification, but it shows a knowledge of facts which were hardly realised by Vatke. Nor do I believe that Prof. Hoffmann's view of Job xxiv., xxv. (see p. 33), is capable of proof. Certainly Job xxv. 4, 5 is not in the spirit of the Avesta, and Job xxvi. reveals affinities to Babylonian mythology. But let me not be misunderstood. If on other grounds the early post-Exilic origin of Job and Prov. i.—ix. be accepted, an incipient influence of Persian religion on both books will at once become probable. The Jews had (and still have) a wonderful capacity of assimilation, of which there seem to be instances enough in the post-Exilic period.

If Prof. Hoffmann has added anything to the argument for a date in this period, it is on the linguistic side. He draws this distinction between the poet of Job and the author of Zech. ix.-xiv. (who also, he believes, wrote Zech. i.-viii.), that, while both are rhetoricians or literary craftsmen, the former makes no attempt to rise above the Aramaizing style of his own time. Certainly this is to a certain extent what we might expect. If the Colloquies are a specimen (highly idealised, of course) of the discussions of Jewish wise men, it will be natural that they should indicate this by the cast of their language, though on the other hand this tendency would be checked by a pious regard for ancient models. The reader will find several new suggestions of Aramaic forms or meanings, of which he must judge for himself, not forgetting, however, the weight which, on such a point, belongs to the opinion of the author. I shall not however confine myself to these in the following list, but note down many other interesting but

often daring suggestions.—iii. 16. **לְעוֹלָם** 'like (those who) never . . .' The old reading gives a better parallelism.—v. 7. 'For man is born to trouble, while the race of flame has higher flight.' **אֲנִי מַלְאָכִים** are the angels, whose connexion with the stars is hinted at in xxv. 5, xxviii. 7, not to mention the Talmudic story (*Chagiga*, 14a). According to this view of the passage, what Eliphaz says is this, "It is of no use to turn to the 'holy ones' or angels (v. 1); they are far above human misery, and are mere instruments of the divine purposes. Rather have recourse to God." This view of the angels, however, is opposed not only to the later Jewish belief (see Enoch, *passim*), but to a passage in an early appendix to Job (xxxiii. 23). I can hardly believe that it was that of the original poet, especially if he believes (see next note) in harmful demons. For my own explanation, see Stade's *Zeitschrift*, 1891, Heft i.—v. 21. 'When the slanderer (**לְשׁוֹן שֹׁדֵד**, *ὁ διάβολος*) goeth about, thou shalt remain hidden; thou shalt not be afraid, when a demon (**שֵׁט**) cometh' Comp. i. 7, ii. 2. **שֵׁט** occurs but twice in the Old Testament, viz., Deut. xxxii. 17, Ps. cvi. 37, nor is there any evidence in the Hebrew Scriptures of the existence of the later Jewish superstition about the *shēdim*. Prof. Hoffmann may, of course, be right in supposing a belief in demoniacal possession to have existed in the early Persian period, but he should not have appealed to Ps. xci, where (see, however, the Targum) the only supernatural beings mentioned are friendly angels. There is no proper name anywhere like the Phœnician Gadshed (de Vogué, *Mélanges*, p. 77). Prof. Hoffmann will, however, reply that **שֵׁט** does exist (*e.g.*, Gen. xlix. 25), on which ingenious but daring hypothesis, see his tractate *Ueb. ein. Phön. Inschr.* p. 53, &c.

v. 26. **בְּרִיחַ**, "with wrinkles;" *i.e.*, at an advanced age. Cf. Ar. *kaluḥa*, "to contract the brow." Fleischer's explanation, "in unbroken strength" (note in Delitzsch) is arbitrary.—vi. 14. **סָלַח לְפָנָיו**; "Since one refuseth sympathy to his friend, and forsaketh," &c.—viii. 17. **וְהָיָה**, cohortative from **הָיָה**. For other instances in Job of cohort. 3rd pers. sing.

see xi. 17, xxii. 21, (this last passage, however, is emended by the author).—ix. 9b. “H̄dr and the Twins,” = חדר ותאמן.—ix. 23. לְמִשְׁכָּל־לְמִשְׁכָּל “at the weight”; cf. Job’s longing, vi. 1.—ix. 30; כְּמַרְשֵׁל; “If I am to wash myself (white) as snow.”—x. 22, end; “Which remaineth dark, even when Thou (O God) shinest. But see Ps. cxxxix. 12.—xi. 12, “Whereas man is of hollow understanding, and as a wild ass is man born;” i.e., he is incapable of distinguishing right and wrong in a case like Job’s.—xii. 5. A proverb. לֶפֶד, “a torch.”—xii. 18. וַיִּסֶר, “and taketh away.”—xii. 21. מַחֲמֵה = מַחֲמֵה, “dam.” See Lagarde on Isa. xxxiii. 10; *Mittheilungen*, iii. 218.—xiii. 4b. “Idol-vampers are ye all;” i.e., the God ye imagine is not the true God. Prof. Hoffmann explains the name Elihu, “my God is the right one.”—xiii. 26. “Thou writest (=art in the habit of writing) against me from (past) generations,” בְּדִרוֹחַ, visiting, that is, on Job the sins of the fathers. The sufferer is trying to understand God’s unkindness. Can it be that he bears the punishment due to the sins of past generations (Job being a symbol of humanity)? This is in accordance with the inference drawn by Eliphaz from the fate of Job’s children, at least if our author’s view of xv. 35 be correct, though not so with Bildad’s words in viii. 4 (Bildad seems to hold the doctrine of individual responsibility). Prof. Hoffmann’s interpretation of xiii. 26 must, therefore, be taken in connection with his view of xv. 35, and, I should add, of xiv. 22, which he explains as a reference to the present passage. It is perhaps my interest to support his view of xiii. 26, for it may be held to support my own view of Ps. xxv. 7 (see my commentary). For that reason I leave the decision to the unprejudiced reader.—xiv. 4. מִי יִתֵּן מִתֵּר מִטִּמְאָה לֹא אֶחָד, “oh that thou wouldest pronounce me clean rather than unclean at once.” Very strange Hebrew for so eminent a “rhetorician!” (p. 30). The value of the suggestion lies in its protest against the received view. The text of xiv. 4 as it stands is, according to my feeling, very far from worthy of the great poet of Job, and the reference which it contains to the “unclean” origin of man entirely out of place. Are there any inter-

polated passages in the Old Testament? If so, surely this must be one (see Bickell *ad loc.*, and my *Job and Solomon*, p. 28).—xiv. 1. This verse is attached by Prof. Hoffmann to ver. 28 as its subject. It belongs rather, in my opinion, to xiv. 2, though it remains true that xiii. 28 is a transitional verse.—xiv. 22. "Only on his own account his flesh hath pain, and on his own account his soul mourneth." This is different from Schlottmann's and Hirzel's view of עָלָיו, "he himself alone is the object of his pain and his mourning," to which there is a well-grounded objection (see Dillmann). It involves an emphatic denial that a man can be held responsible for the sins of his ancestors (see Prof. Hoffmann on xiii. 26, above). I still prefer Dillmann's explanation; עָלָיו = inwardly, cf. Ps. xlii. 5. Such consciousness as remains to soul and body, or rather to the soul in the body (according to the Egyptian doctrine), is utterly out of connection with the experiences of living men.—xv. 24. מַלְאָךְ (עֲתִיד) עֲתִיד, i.e., "like the angel of lightning," one of the "slayers" spoken of in xxxiii. 22 (but see below); a fresh point of contact with the Prologue (i. 16). Such Hebrew might pass in a gloss (עֲתִיד = Aram. מַעְתִּיר), but hardly in this great poem. Plague-demon (v. 21) and lightning-angel must, I fear, be set aside for later writers.—xv. 27. מִיָּמָה = מִיָּמָה, an Aramaic form, wrongly vocalised. Prof. Hoffmann thinks that there are also other places in which the ending הֵ is due to a misunderstanding of the Aram. *status determinativus*. But is "made a mouth for self-confidence" idiomatic Hebrew?—xv. 29. מִלֵּן; cf. נִטָּה לֵּן, Jer. xiv. 8.—xvi. 7. עֲדָתִי or עֲדָתִי ("Zu-gegenschaft"). Bickell's felicitous restoration is overlooked.—xvi. 20. מִלְּצִי רֵעִי, "my interpreter (cf. xxxiii. 20) is my Shepherd." So in next verse, לִרְעִי. If so, Philo had a predecessor in his universalistic interpretation of Ps. xxiii. 1; this is a hard view!—xviii. 3. נִטָּמֵט for נִטָּמֵט, Arabicè.—xviii. 14b. "Terrors shall bring him by steps (cf. Job i.) to destruction." לִשְׁלֵף; cf. the Aram. infinitives מִשְׁלֵף, הִלֵּף, "to perish," xiv. 20, xix. 10.—xix. 3. תִּהְיֶה כִּפְרִי, Aram. Hafêl =

Heb. תִּנְכַּרְי.—xix. 20b, "And I am overspread with a second skin," reading שֵׁנִי אֶחָד, *Aramaic*.—xix. 23-29 is read and explained in a very strange manner. Suffice it to say that the words to be written in a book are those of ver. 24. In ver. 26 נִכְפָּא or נִכְפָּא is read. Isaiah speaks of "the striking of an olive-tree," when only two or three berries very high up are left (*Isa.* xvii. 6). The avenger of blood (God) in heaven is like such berries; the inscription will, as it were, strike the high tree and bring God down.—xxi. 13. וַיִּבְרַע, "and gently . . ."—xxi. 21. הִצִּיץ, denom. from הִצִּיץ, "calculus," "to calculate strictly"; cf. Arabic *aḥṣad* from *ḥaṣan*, "gravel, small pebbles."—xxii. 27. "Since thou," &c.—xxiii. 7. נִצָּח, "unassailably."—xxiv. 5. כִּרְבֵּד, bed-covering.—xxiv. 11. שֹׁרֵתָם, "their cows"; cf. *Aram.* תֹּרְתָא, "cow." תַּחֲרִירֻ, "stand in the noon-tide sun."—xxiv. 16. חָתְמוּ *Aramaic*, "shut themselves in."—xxviii. 1. כִּי, concessive, "certainly." See ver. 12.—xxx. 2. בְּלַח, "from the weakness of old age" (?).—xxx. 5. נֹו, *Aramaic*="the community."—xxxi. 7. כְּמִאֲמָרָא for כְּמִאֲמָר.—xxxiii. 22. לִפְתִּיחִים.—xxxiii. 23. The angel, a man's personified conscience.—xxxiv. 36, end, "In the manner of idolaters."—xxxvi. 2. לְאֵלִיהוּ, "to Elihu."—xxxvi. 33. סָקְנָה אֵף (סָקְנָא) עַל עֲוֹנָה; "when he is angrily jealous against iniquity."—xxxvi. 4. עֲקֵב, "to follow the track of," *Aramaic*.—xxxix. 30. הָרָא, "he rushes down," *Arabic*; cf. xxxvii. 6.—Note also the remarkable version of xxxviii. 36.

It seemed only just to give the reader abundant specimens of Prof. Hoffmann's philological novelties. Should only a few of them commend themselves as probable, the book will have done good service by impressing upon us the extreme difficulty of this unique Hebrew poem, and by calling fresh attention to the Aramaic and Arabic element in its vocabulary. I still think, however, that the date of the original part of the poem must be discussed, in the first place, on grounds unconnected with language. The choice can, it would seem, only lie between an exilic and an early post-exilic date.

Die Evangelien-citate Justins des Märtyrers in ihrem Wert für die Evangelienkritik.

Von neuem untersucht von Lic theol. Willh. Bousset. Göttingen :
Vandenhœck & Ruprecht, 1891. London and Edinburgh :
Williams & Norgate. 8vo. pp. 127. Price M.2. 80.

It will perhaps be a little surprising to believers in "Supernatural Religion"—if any such eccentrics still exist—to find that the latest German investigator of Justin's evangelic citations does not consider it worth while to prove his use of our Synoptic Gospels. The writer cannot be branded as an "apologist," and we are left to assume that common sense has finally established in Germany the view which no sane man would ever have questioned if any other book than the Gospels had been on its trial.

The present work is designed to prove that, besides our Synoptic Gospels, Justin used an older evangelic narrative, now lost. The theory of course does not pretend to be new, but the writer thinks we can now enter on the enquiry with new material. There is a great advance since Credner's time in the three fields of primitive Church history, *Evangelienkritik*, and textual criticism. Indirectly, moreover, there is much new light cast on the question by the investigations of Resch, in his "*Agrapha*," a work to which the writer is largely indebted. It is almost unnecessary to observe that English work on the subject is entirely ignored, though Westcott & Hort's Greek Testament is familiar. Dr Schürer tells that the *Critical Review* is to remove this ancient grievance. It would seem that a weekly issue will be needed for a long time to come, if books like Westcott's *Canon*—to say nothing of Sanday's *Gospels in the Second Century*—still require a first introduction to the world of German learning.

Bousset's introductory section is mainly historical. After sketching the successive positions of Credner, Semisch, Hilgenfeld and Zahn, he takes up Resch's contribution, which he summarises and examines. The two leading propositions are: (1) the 74 "genuine" Logia Agrapha show many points of contact with Pauline phraseology; (2) their variations of form suggest that they are independently translated from a Hebrew ¹ original. This *Urevangelium*, on which Mark immediately depends, was quoted as *γραφὴ* by St. Paul, known to the N.T. writers generally ², and appears often in

¹ Resch argues for Hebrew, not Aramaic, as the original language.

² To the list of Logia traceable in the N. T. I would add one suggested by Mark xiv. 58. It was apparently a contrast drawn between the *σκηρῆ* or *σὰρξ χειροποιήτος* and the *οὐκία ἀχειροποιήτος*, applied to the body of flesh and the body of glory. Besides quoting it in its original sense (2 Cor.

writers of the second century, leaving its last traces in Origen, Hippolytus, and the Didascalia. To the same source belong the variants of the "Western" recension, which come from a harmonising process applied to the canonical text. The document contained narratives connecting the Logia, and a short history of the Passion, Resurrection and Ascension. Bousset cites the last word with "!" Without committing himself to these results *en bloc*, our writer proposes to treat Justin's citations on much the same lines. His own view of the Synoptic problem (p. 51) is that there were two original sources, one mainly narrative, preponderating in our Mark, the other Logia, with the necessary historical framework.

A short space suffices for the general treatment of Justin and his works. The Apologies are regarded as one work, and may be dated, with Harnack, 152 A.D., the Dialogue being later. No other works are accepted, the spuriousness of the fragment *de Resurrectione*, which Resch thinks genuine, being demonstrated in an appendix. The attempt to decide whether Justin belongs to Jewish or to Gentile Christianity is pronounced an anachronism: in his age Judaizing tendencies survive only in Gnosticism.

We have next a discussion of the title ἀπομνημονεύματα, leading mainly to negative results. The well-known sentence in Dial. 103, attributing the "Memoirs" to Christ's Apostles and those who followed them, encourages us to infer that they were a collection of separate works, but proves nothing for their identity with our Four Gospels. The word εὐαγγέλιον, Bousset observes, was perfectly familiar to Justin, for he makes the Jew Trypho use it; but it is abstract, not concrete,—unless indeed the clause ἡ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια, Apol. I. 66, should after all be genuine.

The heading "Old Testament Quotations" introduces us to the most disappointing part of the book. No one who has seen the case stated can fail to be struck by the argument drawn from the extraordinary freedom with which Justin can quote the venerated Scriptures of the Old Testament, especially in short passages, where he naturally trusts to his memory. Our author does not attempt to face this argument, but airily flings it aside with the remark that

v. 1), St Paul twice applies the figure to circumcision (see Eph. ii. 11 and Col. ii. 11), but in the second passage recalls the original by the words ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδόσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός. It reappears in Hebr. ix. 11 and 24, where the exposition of the word χειροποίητος forcibly suggests that it is a quotation. Finally, Stephen and Paul use the words in the speeches recorded Acts vii. 48 and xvii. 24. The words were probably spoken during Passion week, and, combined with reminiscences of the earlier saying of John ii. 19, produced the testimony of the false witnesses. It is *a priori* most probable that the Epistles should contain numerous words of Jesus which we can no longer recognise.

the principles of Justin's Old Testament citation prove nothing for his method of citing the Apomnemoneumata! After thus breaking up the whole fabric in advance, he proceeds to the rather superfluous task of whittling it away at the corners, by showing that in many places internal evidence reveals corrections by copyists. Twelve pages are devoted to an elaborate proof that the quotations from the Prophets have been harmonised with Lucian's recension of the LXX. In the historical books, it seems, the traces of this revision are much more thinly scattered. But that it exists is proved by Gen. xviii. 22 as quoted in Dial. 56. Here there are three variants agreeing with Lucian's recension, viz. (1) οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκείθεν for ἐκείθεν οἱ ἄνδρες, (2) ἔτι omitted, (3) ἐναντι for ἐναντίον. After which the writer naïvely repeats that the revision is less marked here. Truly it is!

Dealing next with the passages where Justin deserts the LXX. in favour of Matthew's rendering, Bousset consistently ascribes the phenomenon to the copyists. But is he not bound to explain why these scribes were indifferent to Justin's deviations from the Synoptic reports of our Lord's words? The temptation to harmonise was immeasurably stronger here.

We come at length (p. 54) to the discussion of selected evangelic citations. First comes a long examination of the Baptism narrative. The *Urevangelium* claims the "Western" reading, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε, the sentence καὶ πῦρ ἀνήφθη ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ, and the trivial variant τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐπέπτη ἐπ' αὐτόν. Bousset argues ingeniously to prove that the first of these is more original than the canonical text, which he thinks was assimilated to Matt. xvii. 5. This may be, though, perhaps, most will prefer Resch's view, that we have here an Ebionite gloss. The πῦρ ἀνήφθη, according to Usener, was dropped from the evangelic tradition because of the Gnostics' misuse of it. If this was a common practice we may well be thankful that the orthodox expurgators left us any Gospel at all. But are the Gnostics above suspicion of having invented the clause themselves? The lost Gospel is next credited with the passage in which Justin so strikingly coincides with John, οὐκ εἰμὶ ὁ Χριστός, ἀλλὰ φωνὴ βοῶντος κ.τ.λ. (Dial. 88). We ought to be told why the Triple Tradition diverges so remarkably, in a place where the disturbing influence of the Logia cannot possibly be admitted.

Space compels us to neglect many points which follow, but it must be remarked that most of them are much too minute to prove anything. The startling variant ἤξει for ἔρχεται is a fair specimen. In the long section upon the Sermon on the Mount we meet first with Justin's corroboration of James v. 12, in reporting the Logion about oaths. Here neither Bousset nor Professor Sanday (p. 122) takes into account the alternative translation — adopted by the

Revisers in their margin, and strongly recommended by the context—which at once makes the meaning identical with Matt. v. 37. Quotations from the *Urevangelium* are next traced, with varying degrees of probability, in Apol. I. 16 *init.*; do. 15 and Dial. 133 compared with Matt. v. 44; do. 15 and Dial. 96, *γίνεσθε χρηστοὶ καὶ οἰκτίρμονες κ.τ.λ.*; Dial. 93, *ὁ τὸν πλησίον ὡς ἑαυτὸν ἀγαπῶν, ἅπερ αὐτῷ βούλεται ἀγαθὰ κάκεῖν βουλήσεται*, the claim for which seems reasonable; Apol. 16 and 63, *ὃς γὰρ ἀκούει μου κ.τ.λ.*; sundry trifles from Apol. 15; Dial. 76 and Apol. 16, *πολλοὶ ἐροῦσί μοι κ.τ.λ.*, a rather important variant. The section on the eschatological discourse is linked with the last by the transference of the saying about wolves in sheep's clothing. Here, too, come the predictions about false prophets, apostles, and Messiahs; here Justin's two uncanonical Logia, *ἔσονται σχίσματα καὶ αἵρέσεις*, and *ἐν οἷς ἂν ὑμᾶς καταλάβω ἐν τούτοις καὶ κρινῶ*; also the variant form of Matt. xxv. 41 (Dial. 76=Clem. Hom. xix. 2). Next come some miscellaneous citations. *Θέλει ὁ Π. ὁ οὐρ. τὴν μετάνοιαν τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ ἢ τὴν κόλασιν αὐτοῦ* (Apol. 15) may be equally well referred, with Otto, to Ezek. xxxiii. 2. In Dial. 51, the apparent combination of Matt. xi. 12-14 and Luke xvi. 16 is put down to the now familiar lost document, which here has a palpably better text. That it is easier is indisputable, but this rather indicates a paraphrase from memory—unless, indeed, we like to believe that the "Judaist redactor of Matthew" has made his text unintelligible! The remarkable inversion of Matt. xi. 27, three times repeated (Dial. 107 and Apol. 63 *bis.*), is fairly counted on the writer's side, but we may doubt whether it greatly improves the canonical reading. The "sign of Jonah," Dial. 107, gives us some risky inferences from Justin's statement that the hearers failed to understand it as a prediction of the resurrection. This is declared inconsistent with Matt. xii. 40, which very inconvenient passage is promptly expelled as a gloss. But are we not told that much clearer predictions were repeatedly "hid" from the Apostles themselves? The quotation of Matt. xvii. 11-13 is treated with a curious lack of perspective. The trifling variant *ἐλεύσεται* is duly noted, and the apparent agreement with the Western text in the last clause of ver. 12. But the really remarkable phrase,¹ *καὶ γέγραπται ὅτι τότε συνῆκαν κ.τ.λ.*, is entirely ignored. Then, after a discussion of the "Good Master" episode, which the writer tries with Justin's help to divide into two, the section ends with a small point from Luke xii. 48 (Apol. 17).

¹ Credner's conclusion that the form of the sentence fixes the reference to Matt. xvii. 13 seems irresistible. To assign the comment to the Triple Tradition—as the author of "Supernatural Religion" does, with the too generous assent of Professor Sanday—surely requires us to show why Mark and Luke both dropped it.

Sundry microscopic peculiarities, which even our courageous investigator can only admit as corroborative evidence, are massed together before we enter the concluding section, on the Passion history. Here very few gleanings are left from the fulness of the Synoptic accounts. The only plausible "find" is evidenced by the close agreement of the last seven lines of Apol. I. 50 with passages in Dial. 53 and 106. Readers are not likely to be much impressed by the argument that the Pauline stamp on the words, "This cup is the new covenant in my blood," forbids their acceptance as genuine words of Jesus! Summing up, Bousset claims to have proved that Justin used, besides our Synoptic Gospels, an older and more original evangelic tradition, with which he was so much more familiar that in trying to quote the former from memory he generally betrays himself by reminiscences of the latter. Against such a theory none need feel prejudice. But the foregoing summary will, I think, have made it clear that its claims stand or fall with the credibility of a relatively small proportion of the witnesses produced.

Two appendices discuss Thoma's investigations¹ as to Justin's knowledge of Pauline and Johannine writings. Bousset thinks the traces of Pauline phraseology are not more than would be left by a single reading. As to the Fourth Gospel, he agrees with Thoma that it was not included in the Apomnemoneumata, but is very shy in allowing his proofs that Justin was penetrated with its characteristic teaching. Thus in discussing John iii. 3, he insists (without any proof) that *ἀνωθεν* must mean "from above," thereby producing disagreement with Justin's *ἀναγεννηθῆτε*, while he absolutely ignores the extremely strong argument based on the repetition of Nicodemus's peculiar objection. Again, while quoting those of Thoma's parallels which he hesitatingly allows, he should not pass by the quite conclusive reference to 1 John iii. 1, in the clause *θεοῦ τέκνα ἀληθινὰ καλούμεθα καὶ ἔσμεν* (Dial. 123)—unless indeed he has the courage to separate the Gospel and the Epistle. He is surprised that in Dial. 102 Justin proves Christ's sinlessness from Isa. liii. instead of John viii. 46, though surely the prophetic witness was indefinitely more cogent in argument with a Jew. The Logos doctrine and other features of Johannine Christology were now the common property of the Church, and "perhaps are traceable to John, but cannot establish Justin's direct dependence upon John."

We may, perhaps, trace this rather irritating timidity to the feeling that the Gospel is used much less than we should expect. But if we draw out the consequences of our author's position we shall see that he should be the last to feel the difficulty. Two documents, fully a century old, had been admitted to the jealously guarded circle of Scripture, simply because they recorded the words and

¹ In the *Zeitschrift f. wiss. Theol.*, 1875.

works of the Lord. Three later and fuller works were gradually superseding these documents, from which they were mainly derived, but though recognised as authoritative were still by comparison unfamiliar. Meanwhile unquestioned letters of the Apostle Paul were still so far from being "Scripture" that the Christian apologist shows only scattered traces of having read them. Is it not then to be expected that a much later Gospel, not sixty years older than the Apology, and consisting so largely, like Paul's letters, of an Apostle's thoughts about Christ, should still lag behind the other Gospels in authority, suggesting doctrines and sometimes even historical statements, but, as a whole, yielding to the instinct which says, "The old is good," especially in sacred things?

We must not part from our author without acknowledging the thoroughness, accuracy, and candour with which his work is done. It has been necessary to complain of instances where he has shown timidity as marked as his temerity elsewhere. But he always gives us the material to form our own judgment, and it is just as well that the case for our Gospels should be shown no favour, but left to stand upon the irreducible minimum of critical support. No "apologist" need ask for more.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

A Christian Apology.

By Paul Schanz, D.D., D.Ph. Translated from German into English.
Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. Demy 8vo, pp. 439. Price 10s.

THIS is a book on Apologetics by a Catholic and for Catholics. Dr Schanz is Professor of Theology in the University of Tübingen, and his work is done into English for the benefit of British readers by Rev. Michael F. Glancey, Inspector of Schools in the Diocese of Birmingham, and Rev. Victor J. Schobel, D.D., Professor of Dogmatic Theology at St Mary's, Oscott. The volume before us is only the first instalment of a work in three volumes, in which, when complete, to quote the translators' preface, "the Catholic student will have to hand a complete manual up to date, of the *Demonstratio Christiana* and the *Demonstratio Catholica*." The subject of this volume is *God and Nature*. The second, which is promised for April, is to deal with the comparative science of religion, and with the main issues raised by Bible criticism. The final volume will be an apologetic treatise on the Church, showing that the Catholic Church is the true Church founded by Christ, and guided and quickened by the Holy Spirit, and that the truths revealed by Christ and preached by the apostles have been preserved in the Catholic Church intact and free from adulteration.

Dr Schanz is a writer with whom we have had no previous acquaintance, and we may add that in the pages of this work he introduces to our notice the names of not a few authors of whom we are ignorant, a fact which makes one conscious that Catholics and Protestants live in two different worlds. But his English translator assures us that the name of the writer "is an ample guarantee that this work is at once Catholic in tone, and fully abreast of the learning of the day." Dr Schanz, we are informed, is one of the most distinguished savants of Catholic Germany, and with Funk and Kepler, his colleagues in the Catholic Faculty of Tübingen, may be justly regarded as sustaining the renown of their predecessors Möhler, Kuhn, and Hefele, of whom all the world has heard.

For any one who carefully reads this book such testimonies are superfluous. The work itself is a sufficient certificate of the learning and ability of its author. Dr Schanz is fully acquainted with the science and theological literature of his time, not to speak of the Fathers of the Church, with whose writings it is a matter of course that a Catholic theologian should be familiar. The pages of his book are so crowded with allusions to scientific facts and laws that one might naturally infer that a writer who knows so much of the physical world must be not merely a theologian but a scientist by profession. While adding to the weight and value of the work, the amount of knowledge exhibited tends to make perusal of it a rather laborious affair to such readers as are comparatively ignorant of science, and care only for the outline of apologetic argument.

One familiar with apologetic literature knows what to expect in a work on *God and Nature*. The topics are the commonplaces of the subject, though they are sometimes expressed in fresh terms. Most interesting is the method in which the writer deals with the cosmological argument. He divides it into four stages. The first is that which ordinarily passes by the name, that, viz., which infers the existence of God "from motion, and from things conditional, possible, and imperfect." This head of the argument is ably discussed in a chapter entitled *Beginning and End*. The second stage is that which from the phenomenon of *life* argues to a living life-giving Creator. The writer holds that not otherwise than through the direct causality of God can the origin of life be accounted for. "If we would steer our barque safely to land, we must avoid the shoals and quicksands, and confess that the beginning of life is to be sought not in the sphere of ordinary causes, but in the unfathomable ocean of Almighty power." The third stage finds the material of argument in the *various forms of life*. At this point the author has to grapple with Darwin's theory. His attitude towards it is critical and dubious. He admits that were it proved Catholics

could accept it without changing a dogma of their faith, and is, of course, aware that not a few Catholics have accepted and even enthusiastically advocated it. But his own view is not quite so favourable to the theological tendency of Darwinism. He thinks it would exclude a first cause if it could. And judged by scientific canons, he thinks it by no means unassailable. "The lower, imperfect animals, with which the graduated scale begins, fit very badly into the theory of selection." "All botany is up in arms against the doctrine of descent. The vegetable kingdom, both past and present, is equally stubborn and unyielding in its resistance." "If the theory of natural selection was hatched in the dovecot and the stable, that of sexual selection may be said to have been excogitated in the family parlour. It applies human ideas to animals, with the important difference that mankind regard the female as the sex of beauty and the object of selection." The conclusion is that in the world of animal life must be found the evidence of a creative mind. "The presence of a new force must be recognised in the animal. Thus the First Cause is shown to be spiritual as well as living, for it must be higher than the conscious animal. . . . This result joined with the preceding may be set down as the third stage of the cosmological argument, the transcendent importance of which is not commonly appreciated."

The crowning stage of the argument finds its logical basis in MAN. The author does not believe that man, at least on the rational and moral side of his nature, is the result of evolution. "Historically it is not probable that man, intellectually and morally, is a psychical evolution from the brute. Ethnography has blown to atoms Rousseau's ideal child of nature. But the Darwinian substitute, namely, speechless primitive man, the brutal savage, has also been mercilessly battered and mangled." Neither does he believe that man has been steadily progressing upwards. "Faith and science both declare that man's condition in the beginning was purer and nobler than at present." The conclusion is that man is a direct creature of God, and in this conclusion the cosmological argument culminates, giving a First Cause, who, like man, is possessed of intelligence, liberty, and personality.

In the last four chapters of his work the author treats of *the System of the World, the Unity of the Human Race, the Age of the Human Race, and the Deluge*, the aim being to bring science on these topics into harmony with Scripture and the creed of the Church. In the course of his discussion he comes upon some rather hard problems, one of them being the attitude of the Church towards the Copernican theory as advanced by Galileo. It must be confessed in all fairness that he gets through his task with considerable dexterity. He tells the story of the Church's action in connection

with the great heresy that the earth moves round the sun and round its own axis, in a straightforward way. Of course he admits that the ecclesiastical authorities were wrong and Galileo right. But he does his best to apologise for the Church. The apology amounts to this: The authorities treated Galileo on the whole with mildness and consideration; though they erred they are not to be blamed in view of the state of exegesis, philosophy, and natural science at the time; and they were no worse than their neighbours, even as late as the eighteenth century the number of Protestant theologians who combated the new system on Scriptural grounds being not small. It is unfortunately too true that there are at all times many in Protestant churches who are "Catholic" in spirit, and Protestant only in name.

Notwithstanding its Catholic colouring, discernible on every page, genuine enlightened Protestants may read Dr Schanz's book with interest and profit.

A. B. BRUCE.

Natural Theology and Modern Thought.

The Donellan Lectures for 1888-9, by James Houghton Kennedy, B.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 8vo, pp. 276. Price 5s.

IN these Lectures Mr Kennedy makes a valuable contribution to the contemporary literature of Apologetics. By the nature of the case they do not deal systematically or exhaustively with the wide subject; but they do most satisfactorily fulfil the purpose of the writer "to examine some points in which the results of modern research and the development of modern thought are supposed to have seriously affected the proofs of Natural Theology." The first point examined is *The Veto of Positivism*, which "claims the right to prohibit all belief in a Personal God as an attempt to travel beyond the limits of experience." This arrogant claim is disposed of by pointing out that not only theists but scientists transgress the limits of experience as defined by Positivists; for example, in their researches into the theory of light. The luminiferous ether is beyond the reach of observation, it is simply an inference from the phenomena of light, which are best accounted for by the assumption of an undulatory medium. In like manner God, though beyond experience, may be a necessary postulate to explain the facts of experience. "Before such phrases as 'The limits of experience' can give to Positivists or to Agnostics the slightest assistance in making good their prohibition of all theology, they must first succeed in so defining experience as to exclude from its

field the inferences of what Kant calls the Physico-Theological argument, while their definition will enable them, at the same time, to include all the results of science."

The second lecture deals at great length with the question of Materialism. A prominent place in the discussion is given to the two tracts of Du Bois-Reymond on *The Limits of Physical Science*, and *The Seven Enigmas of the World*, which are well entitled to the prominence given to them, both on account of the scientific fame of their author, and because they bring out with scientific impartiality the insuperable difficulties of the Materialistic theory. Among the insurmountable limits of science Du Bois-Reymond places these two: the origin of motion and the origin of consciousness. To explain either something more is wanted than a universe of atoms and mechanical causation. Given atoms in motion it may be possible, on the principles of evolution, to account for the world up to the point where consciousness comes in. But in the homogeneous universe from which the evolutionary process must start motion seems impossible except through a supernatural impulse. And as the supernatural must be introduced at the beginning of the world process, so it must be resorted to at the end to explain the phenomena of mind. Materialists have tried hard to obviate this unwelcome consequence by ascribing to matter the properties of mind, and describing it as a two-sided substance, with two sets of properties,—on the lower side those of motion, on the upper those of thought. This is a reversion to the Spinozan conception. Mr Kennedy offers some very acute criticisms on this device of modern materialism to make an insoluble problem appear soluble.

Among the most valuable things in this important lecture is the parallel drawn between the relation of the human will to mechanical causation, and the relation of a Divine Will to the physical order of the universe. The causality of the human will is real, yet it seems impossible to reconcile it with physical causation everywhere prevailing. Hence the apparent impossibility of finding room for a Divine agency in the physical order of the universe is no conclusive argument against the reality of that agency. "If the chain of physical causation pervades the human body as much as it does any part of the universe, and yet cannot exclude the agency of Design there; the inference will be irresistible, that there must be room everywhere else for Design to work, and the only question will be, 'Have we evidence for the existence of Design?'"

This question naturally introduces the subject of *Design and Natural Selection*, which is considered in the third lecture. The result of the discussion is to leave it an open question on which of two hypotheses the phenomena of adaptation are to be explained: Design or Natural Selection. Helmholtz and Darwin are cited as

admitting, each in his own sphere of inquiry, that the adaptations are such as would characterise the work of the highest Wisdom, while both contending that they are really due to Natural Selection. To settle the question as between the two rival hypotheses, appeal is made to the sphere of the Beautiful and Sublime,—the phenomena in which, it is held, cannot be accounted for otherwise than by Design consciously investing the universe with features that appeal to our æsthetic faculties. This subject is discussed with much eloquence and force in the fourth lecture. Mr Kennedy points out that Darwin's explanation of the beauty of flowers, birds, and butterflies, is a departure from the theory of the Survival of the Fittest. The Survival of the Fittest has become the Survival of the Fittest to please. "A new element has come into action, the element of consciousness, and also of a rudimentary form of choice and will; and without this element the theory will not work. Though it be the choice and will of very tiny beings, it is none the less by the exercise of will and choice that the selection here spoken of operates. The insects are attracted by exquisite flowers—the birds by the fair forms or beautiful songs of their mates; and through their being thus attracted to some rather than to others, it is practically determined that that which is most beautiful shall be perpetuated." This fact the author uses as a stepping-stone to rise to God as the author of the beauty of mountains and valleys, of forest, sea, and shore, of sunrise and sunset, and the midnight sky. "How can the doctrine of the survival of the fittest among a number of fortuitous combinations be made to work here? We saw that its author was obliged to have recourse to the hypothesis of choice and selection made by living beings in order to explain the minuter beauties of nature. But no being but One can work on the tremendous scale that we have to do with now."

The two last lectures deal with the important topics of *Determinism and the Will*, and *Kant and the moral proof*. In the former of the two, the author insists with much effect on the difference between two kinds of Determinism which are apt to be confounded—that which consists in asserting that our actions are determined by the strongest motive, and materialistic Determinism which denies to the mind all power of influencing action. The one theory so far from being a modification of the other, is a contradiction of it. The one sort of Determinism, while denying that the will is *free*, admits the will to be a real cause. The other sort reduces the will as a cause to a nullity.

We have nothing but praise for this book. Readers will find both pleasure and profit in its perusal.

A. B. BRUCE.

Introduction to the Johannine Writings.

By Paton J. Gloag, D.D., Author of "An Introduction to the Pauline Epistles," &c., &c. London: Nisbet & Co. Demy 8vo. Pp. xvii., 440. Price 10s. 6d.

THE Johannine Writings continue to offer an absorbing theme of contemplation. The problems of their authenticity, of their oneness of authorship, of their real import and motive, and of the place they occupy in the New Testament, still provoke eager controversy, and excite almost passionate enthusiasm. Dr Gloag admits that notwithstanding the great names to be reckoned among the defenders of the Johannine origin of the Fourth Gospel both in this country, in America, and on the Continent, yet the question cannot be regarded as settled, while scholars of the calibre of Drs. Davidson, Schürer, Harnack, Pfleiderer, Weizsäcker, and Hilgenfeld,—he might have added Martineau, A. Thoma, Reuss, and Holtzmann—rank among those that deny the Apostolic origin of this priceless treasure-trove of the Church of Christ.

One peculiarity of the contest has not been sufficiently noticed. The ordinary methods of modern historical criticism in discussing the claim of the traditional authorship of an ancient document are apt to emphasise the various layers of deposition, to discover a mosaic made up by different authors in successive generations, to discern contrarieties of style, incongruities of purpose, and numerous redactions, and thus the whole is broken up into separate parts. Now, though the Apocalypse is beginning to suffer from this method of disintegration, the Gospel still stands forth in a sublime completeness. In fact, hostile criticism in this particular instance rests its case upon the fact that one mighty spirit breathes through the entire document, and that from the first verse to the close of chapter xx. at least, with one exception, no suspicion is suggested that we have to deal with more than one luminous, highly idiosyncratic mind, one master hand. The unity of the Gospel is assured. Even the manner in which the writer occasionally comments upon the words of the Lord Jesus, or possibly adds to them some kindred reflections of his own, partakes of the same character, and shows how far he fell from the lofty level of the teaching he professes to record.

We must not be surprised that the opponents of supranaturalism should resist and resent the verisimilitude and veracity of the Johannine record, because if the final conclusion of the campaign should leave the apostolic origin unscathed, a momentous support is given to the fact of the supranatural *per se* and to the entirely

unique self-consciousness, and transcendent life of the Eternal Son of God in human flesh.

Dr Paton J. Gloag has been long known and appreciated as a diligent worker in this department of criticism, and the present volume is a worthy companion to his interesting and scholarly Introductions to the Pauline and General Epistles. We value this contribution to the Johannine question, if for no other reason than for this, that it endeavours to grapple with every part of the controversy, and gives equal attention to the external and to the internal evidence for the Johannine origin of the Gospel, Epistles, and Apocalypse.

No department of the subject is overlooked, though we must express our surprise at the cursory way in which some evidence is advanced, and some serious objections are handled, *e.g.*, the quotations supposed to be made by Justin Martyr from the Gospel are accepted without reference to certain formidable assaults upon the position, and the gist of the controversy as to the citations which were made by *Basileides* is hardly touched upon. The whole value of the evidence derivable from the newly recovered Diatessaron of Tatian is insufficiently set forth, and a thoroughgoing examination of the differences, harmonies, and mutual omissions of the Synoptical and Fourth Gospels is still a desideratum to the discussion. On the other hand, we call special attention to two sections of great merit—one is the compendious view of the legendary life of St John, and the other on the affinities between the Apocalypse and other apocalyptic literature. Dr Gloag treats with scrupulous fairness the numerous writers whose opinions he controverts, and does not assume that either himself or any other has resolved the apparent contradiction between the Synoptist's solitary reference to the day of the last supper, and the long series of detailed allusions in the Fourth Gospel to the synchronism of the day of the crucifixion with the passover sacrifice. We are of opinion that the question is much nearer final solution than he suggests.

Numerous important discussions are introduced, *e.g.*, on the theology of St John, appended to the Introduction to the first Epistle, on the Logos of Philo, on the relation of the Logos to the Old Testament as well as to the Targums and the Gnostic writers. We thankfully accept and commend the dissertations on the systems of interpretation to which the Apocalypse has been submitted. Dr Gloag does not decide between these, though his preference appears to fall upon the spiritual exposition of the symbols. The volume will be valued as a lucid handbook of a many-sided controversy, and will doubtless bring nearer the day when the truth about these incomparable writings will be placed beyond all reasonable doubt.

H. R. REYNOLDS.

Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte.

Von Dr Adolf Harnack, ord. Professor der Kirchengeschichte, &c., in Berlin. Band III. Freiburg i. B., J. C. B. Mohr. Large 8vo. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. viii., 789. Price M. 17.

DR HARNACK'S "History of Dogmas," of which this is the third and last volume, is a large and important work, with many striking excellences, and a very distinct character of its own. Most books of doctrine-history give us very much more of doctrine than of history, and sometimes we are apt to feel that the doctrines of successive ages and theologians are treated in so abstract a manner that the history becomes a mere chronological skeleton, or a process of logical evolution. This cannot be said of the work before us. While it does not lack full expositions and criticisms of the systems of doctrine that have prevailed at different times in the Church, and acute elucidations of the logical relations of one doctrine or system to another; it constantly views them all in close connection with the actual history of the Christian religion and Church, and even with the external events and general history of the times. It is, therefore, an eminently readable book, one that is not merely useful for reference about particular facts or dates, but that can be read continuously with interest and profit. It is, indeed, in many places, stiff reading, from the abstract nature of some of the expositions; but it represents the living process of development through which Christian doctrine has passed in successive stages, and shows the influence of the personal character and life of the great Christian teachers on the doctrine of the Church.

According to Harnack's conception of dogma, its history is more limited than has been generally thought; for it does not comprehend the whole intellectual treatment of Christianity, but only a particular form of it, namely, the formulated expressions of belief, regarded as having the authority of Divine revelation, and necessary to be recognised in order to salvation. This is not doctrine in the general sense in which we use the word to translate the German *Lehre*; it is dogma in the sense of a proposition which is, as the Roman Catholics say, "of faith" (*de fide*); and in this sense dogma is not so old as Christianity, and its historian has first to trace its origination, and then to describe its career. Accordingly, the first part of our author's history is entitled "The Origination of the Ecclesiastical Dogma," and embraces the period up to the end of the third century: the second part is entitled "The Development of the Ecclesiastical Dogma," and is divided into three Books. "I. The development of Dogma as a doctrine of the God-man on the

ground of natural Theology. II. The enlargement and new coining of Dogma as a doctrine of sin and grace, and the means of grace on the ground of the Church. III. The three-fold issue of the history of Dogma." The first of these books traces the theology of the Eastern Church, as far as it has any real history at all, that is, to the ninth century : the second follows the theology of the Western Church from its beginning down to the Reformation : and the third traces Roman Catholic Dogma down to the Vatican Council, and then describes Socinianism and Protestantism as the two other issues of the history of Dogma. The third volume, which is the subject of this notice, includes the second and third Books of the second part of the whole work ; but thus much needed to be said of the contents of the earlier volumes to make an account of this one intelligible.

Harnack's general conception of the history of Dogma in the Western Church is that the dogmatic theology of the Greek Church, which consisted simply of the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation, was taken over as authoritative, but that by the teaching of Augustine there was added to that a series of doctrines about sin and grace, by which the character of the system as a whole was materially altered, as it was also by the influence of specially Roman ideas of the Church and its ordinances. In the ages after Augustine, his theology was considerably modified, and was received as orthodox only in a form weakened to suit the ecclesiastical tendencies of the times ; and the history of medieval and of modern Roman Catholic Theology is, to a large extent, a history of the gradual breaking down, bit by bit, of the Augustinian doctrines of sin and grace, under the influence of the hierarchical, sacramental, and scholastic tendencies of the times. The representation of the theology of Augustine is very full and enlightening, occupying 160 pages of thoughtful and clear writing ; and ample justice is done to the religious spirit as well as to the intellectual power of his teaching. It is very refreshing, in these days when Augustinian theology is so often misunderstood and decried, to read such a fair exposition of it, and such a sympathetic appreciation of its roots in genuine Christian experience, and of its salutary influence on the teaching of later ages. Harnack shows, with great feeling, as well as clearness, that Augustine's doctrines of original sin, of efficacious grace, and of predestination, were the result and expression of his religious experience and piety, a kind of piety that was deeper and more healthful than that which had come to be common in Christians before his time, which, however, has never been lost in the Church since, but has been the ground of the religion of all the men and women who have been remarkable for true godliness in succeeding ages. At the same time he points out the other elements in Augustine's teaching, which did not perfectly harmonise with his

religious conception of sin and grace, his doctrine of the Church and the sacraments as indispensable means of grace, and an element of neo-Platonic metaphysics, which, Harnack thinks, to some extent confused his conception of God, in the main a purely religious one. These various constituent parts in Augustine's teaching are exhibited in separate chapters with great acuteness and abundant references to illustrative passages in his writings; and the reader obtains a good idea of the intellectual and spiritual greatness of the man and of his distinctive and individual character.

Then, after a brief but clear account of the semi-Pelagian controversy, it is shown that Gregory the Great, whom Harnack regards as related to Augustine as Cyprian was to Tertullian, modified the Augustinian doctrine so as to suit the ecclesiastical and sacerdotal ideas and tendencies of the time, and thus formed the bridge between Augustine and the Middle Ages. The history of doctrine that follows is in his view mainly a gradual process of breaking down the theology of Augustine by the continual increase of external and sacramental ideas. Meanwhile, in describing the Adoptian controversy, he shows how the notion of grace, which Augustine had made the leading one in the theology of the West, tended to lead men away from, or at least beyond, the dogma of the hypostatic union, in which the orthodoxy of the East largely consisted. Then the decay of Augustinianism is illustrated by the history and fate of Gottschalk, to whom justice is done as a faithful adherent of, and sufferer for, that doctrine.

Our author, however, is far from thinking that all the influences that modified theology in the middle ages were superstitious or worldly and operated only for evil. On the contrary, he devotes large space to a sympathetic description of the revival of piety in the tenth century, through the influence of the convent of Clugny, St Bernard, and later St Francis and the mendicant orders. During the whole medieval period the influences moulding doctrines were, he conceives, mainly three: the living, practical piety of the age in its various forms, the development of the Canon law and the Papal claims, and the revival of science under the influence of Aristotle. Anselm, perhaps, receives from Harnack the scantiest justice of any of the great dogma-makers. His doctrine of satisfaction is very fully and elaborately expounded, but not with much apparent sympathy; and the extremely acute criticism upon it is rather overdone as applied to what was practically the first attempt at a scientific explanation of the mystery of our redemption, which Christians have always believed as a fact; an attempt, too, which though not entirely successful, pointed on the whole in the true direction.

In the history of the later middle ages there is a full account of the doctrine of the sacraments as worked out by the great schoolmen;

and it is also shown how the Augustinian theology was further modified by the notions of merit that had come to be generally entertained, and how the nominalistic theology tended to efface it altogether, though there was a revival of Augustinianism by Bradwardine, Wiclif, Huss, and others.

The title which Harnack has given to the third book of his history, "The Threefold Issue of the History of Dogma," is explained by the fact that he considers that dogma, in the sense in which it began in Christendom about the beginning of the fourth century, has come to an end, but in three different ways in different parts of the Christian community of the West. One was that the growing claims of Papal authority in the sphere of doctrine, as well as of government and discipline, should swamp the dogmas hitherto regarded as principles of revealed truth, by levelling up every Papal decision to equal authority, and reducing the mass of the Church to the exercise of mere implicit faith, on the authority of the Church or the Pope. This is the course that affairs actually took in the Roman Catholic Church, but it needed three centuries to come to its goal in the Vatican Council of 1870. Hence the history of dogma is carried down to that point, including a very clear description of the ambiguous decisions of the Council of Trent, and an account of the final struggles of Augustinianism as represented by the Jansenists, and the gradual victory of the Jesuits, culminating in the decree of the infallibility of the Pope, which virtually made the idea of any other dogma, in the old sense, meaningless.

A second course of development was that of the Anti-Trinitarians and Socinians of the sixteenth century, which following the tendencies to pantheistic mysticism, to rationalising criticism of the old doctrines, and to a humanistic view of the world, brought about a transformation of dogmatic Christianity into a mere system of morality. In this part of Christendom certainly there was an end of the old doctrines, not only as to their form, but as to their substance, and its history is not traced further than the exposition of the Socinian system in the Racovian Catechism, which is very fully described and fairly estimated.

The third line of development was the Protestant Reformation, which Harnack takes to have been, in its genuine character, as exhibited in the teaching of Luther, an end of dogma not less really, though in a more true and Christian way than either of the two former. Accordingly he gives no more here than a very full and appreciative account of the Christianity of Luther, explaining why he holds that the history of dogma should end here, and not be carried any farther in the case of the Protestant Churches. He admits that many of the theologians of these Churches, especially of the Lutheran, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, retained or reasserted the old idea of

certain dogmas having absolute authority, and being essential marks of the Church; but he thinks that in doing so they fell back from the fundamental principles of the Reformation, and that in spite of their dogmatism, the principles of Luther and the first Reformers really continued to guide and animate the thoughts of the Protestant Churches, as is seen in the movements of theology in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Harnack is indeed far from the opinion of those who regarded the Reformers as merely the champions of free inquiry. He considers the essence of Luther's Christianity to be the assertion of the direct religious relation of the soul to God, and of the exclusive value and authority of what is truly religious in the doctrines and ordinances of the Church. Luther attached vital importance to the articles of the œcumenical creeds, not because of their antiquity, or their universal acceptance by the Church, but because he found in them the expressions of that grace of God in Christ by faith in which the soul lives, and so they were not to him any longer dogmas, i.e., either intellectual first principles or ecclesiastical depositions, but direct expressions of religious faith. When this position is maintained, dogma in the proper sense is no more, and its history should come to an end. This does not mean that the progress of thought and variations of opinion in the Protestant Churches are unimportant, but merely that they should be studied in the form of a history of Protestant theology, not of a history of dogma.

This view of the limits of the history of dogma is new and somewhat startling at first sight, but it is quite consistent with the author's conception of the meaning of dogma given at the outset of his work, and with his view that dogma in that sense was not an original part of Christianity, but that the historian has first to trace its formation and then to follow its history. The history of dogma therefore is not co-extensive with the history of Christian theology, but only a long episode in it. There were theologians before any dogmas had been formed, and there have been also theologians who have left all dogmas behind them. Further, this conception of dogma is not a merely arbitrary one, but one that really existed for ages in the Christian Church; nay more, it is not peculiar to Christianity, nor did it originate from it, for it was received in the Greek and Roman schools of philosophy, and is mentioned by Cicero and Seneca altogether apart from Christianity. Dogma, therefore, is a reality in the history of human thought, and the recognition of it in the development of Christian thought is a valuable contribution to a correct understanding of the various phases through which that has passed. Harnack's view as to the threefold end of dogma in Christendom is, I think, correct and enlightening; and it is better to close the history, as he does, with the Reformation, than to carry it on, as some prefer, to the Formula Concordiæ in the Lutheran

Church (1580) and the Synod of Dort in the Reformed. If it be carried so far, why not, as he pertinently asks, include also the Westminster Assembly? Indeed the Arminian, the Anglican, and more modern forms of theology would also have claims to be recognised.

No one can blame a historian for the point at which he begins or ends his narrative, if only he does what he proposes and professes to do; and as Harnack has undertaken a history of dogma in the strict sense of the term, it must be acknowledged that he has fulfilled his task. We may also say that the subject, as he conceives it, has a unity and an importance that make it well worthy of being treated in a single work specially devoted to it. Whether the history of dogma in this sense ought to be a distinct department of historical theology is a different question, which I think must be answered in the negative. It forms but an episode in the more general history of Christian thought, or of doctrine in the sense of the German *Lehre* and the Latin *doctrina*, as distinguished from *dogma*, *decretum*, or *placitum*. But that general history may be better understood by means of the separate treatment of so important a section of it as the history of dogma in the narrower sense.

It need hardly be added that Dr Harnack's work is characterised by abundant learning, fine critical acumen, and great accuracy and fairness in the statement of various theological views, as also by sympathy with all that is best and most Christian in spirit and tendency. It is a contribution of great value to theology, and fitted to be useful and suggestive, not only to the student of Church history, but to the systematic theologian as well. One of the tasks that the progress of modern knowledge sets before the student of Christian doctrine is to determine how far the old formulas and creeds represent truly the substance of New Testament teaching, and the essence of the religion of Jesus Christ, and how far they merely reflect the intellectual forms of past ages which were largely due to influences outside of Christianity altogether. Many are endeavouring to form a theology free from metaphysics, though it still remains to be seen whether and how such a result can be attained. The study of the formation of dogma as a historical fact must be an indispensable means of rightly deciding these questions, and for that purpose the earlier part of this work is very valuable. Its later portion, again, may be useful in making clear to Protestant theologians, that if they are true to the principles of the Reformation, they must allow no dogma or form of belief to have authority simply because it is ancient, or has been universally received, but be open to prove all things and hold fast only that which is the genuine expression of the religious teaching of the Word of God, and above all of Jesus Christ.

JAS. S. CANDLISH.

Die Heilsbedeutung des Todes Christi.

Biblisch-Theologische Untersuchung, von Lic. Dr Ernst Kühl. Berlin: Hertz. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo. Pp. 230, M. 4.

As a specimen of acute exegesis, and clear, flowing exposition, Dr Kühl's essay deserves the highest praise. It is marked by all the German thoroughness, and more than the average German lucidity. In another respect also the essay has considerable value for English students, namely, as a statement of the Scriptural argument for the theory of atonement favoured by Ritschl's disciples. The best that can be said, on Scriptural grounds, for the exclusively "subjective" theory, is here said in the best way. In going through the work we have been struck with the way in which the author traverses every point and detail of the "objective" or "objectivo-subjective" theory current in all the Reformed Churches. We are far from suggesting that the author sets out with the purpose of doing this; but if he had so set out, he could not have done it more thoroughly. Every exposition leads up to the denial of some part or other of the ordinary doctrine. The spaced type used in the printing seems intended to call attention to these denials. "The phrase, 'God's righteousness,' never means in Scripture a righteousness coming from God. Scripture traces the value of Christ's suffering to the human, not to the divine, element in Him. The only reconciliation is on man's side"—these are examples of what we mean.

But Dr Kühl's chief quarrel is with the idea of satisfaction to judicial or penal righteousness. He admits, indeed, the existence of the latter in God, as he admits the existence of anger, in this respect approaching much nearer to orthodox teaching than Ritschl. While he seems to lower the significance both of penal justice and anger, he still concedes their existence. But he finds no trace or suggestion in Scripture of satisfaction to justice being a ground of the necessity of the atonement. This position is asserted again and again with great emphasis; and it is supported by the old argument that, if justice did receive satisfaction, there is no room for repentance or forgiveness. God *must* then forgive. Of course the theory of satisfaction is never put forward as matter of express Biblical teaching, but only as an inference from Scripture, and as necessary to explain and justify it. To reject the idea because not found in Scripture is not unlike the rejection by a doctor of the idea of a soul because his dissecting-knife has never touched it.

The author feels as strongly as the "Church Dogmatic," that some necessity must be shown for Christ's death; and he devotes the last chapter to this question. The only necessity he can find is

a historical one, the necessity stated by F. W. Robertson in a blunter way, "Christ approached the whirling wheel, and was torn in pieces."

Another weak point in the author's positive teaching is the following. We are told that God annexed forgiveness to the death of Christ, or to faith in that death, because He foresaw that the preaching of His death would prove the most effectual means of leading men to repentance. But why should the thought of Christ's death have this effect on man? The author has shown no benefit which the death, as such, procures for us. The sole feature giving value to Christ's death in God's sight, and therefore in man's, is that it attested the sufferer's fidelity in His calling. That is, Christ was the greatest of martyrs. His death can therefore only influence us as the death of any other martyr does. Dr Kühl expends great ingenuity and enters into considerable discussion on these two last points. We do not think that the reasons given will commend themselves to the unprejudiced as strong or adequate.

We should do injustice to the author if we did not add that, while keeping in the main to Ritschl's lines, in several important respects he approaches nearer the "Church Dogmatic" which he so strenuously contests. He does so in his definition of righteousness and atonement. In our author's opinion Ritschl virtually confounds the latter with repentance (p. 162). Again, God's "holiness" is assigned as a reason why God can only forgive the penitent (pp. 218, 220). This holiness evidently includes more than Ritschl's definition of righteousness or justice.

J. S. BANKS.

The Philosophical Basis of Evolution.

*By James Croll, LL.D., F.R.S., author of "Climate and Time," &c.
London: Edward Stanford. Large Post 8vo. Pp. 202. Price 7s. 6d.*

SINCE this work has been published, the death of the able and learned author has been announced. His was a remarkable career. Almost self-taught, he yet was able so to train himself, as to occupy a foremost place in science and philosophy. His scientific treatises are of the highest order, and his contribution to the "philosophy of Theism" proves him to be a clear and fruitful thinker in the sphere which belongs equally to philosophy and theology. He was in all respects well qualified to take an influential part in the vexed question of the present hour. He was equally at home in science and in philosophy. He could discuss with clearness and incisiveness questions relating to the freedom of the will, and he could also write on topics which involved the highest mathematical calculus. We feel

how great a loss science and philosophy and theology have sustained in the death of this great and fruitful thinker.

The present work is worthy of his high reputation. To discuss the great question of "the philosophical basis of evolution," is a task which must strain to the uttermost every faculty a man possesses. We need not enumerate the indispensable qualifications for such work. But Dr Croll was a man who brought to it many qualities of the highest order. He had patient labour, insight, knowledge. He also could state the problem accurately, as the following quotation shows. "Evolution regards the world as a succession of events—as a process in time, a gradual transition from the simple to the complex, from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, from the indefinite to the definite, a change from the general to the particular. Evolution looks on every change as conditioned by its antecedent or efficient cause. Everything is regarded as under the domain of causality. Nothing happens without a cause, and the same causes acting under the same conditions will always produce the same effects. All events are considered to be the products of continuously operating causes, and no breaks or stoppages in the sequences of phenomena are recognised. An all-pervading uniformity in nature is assumed. The modern biological doctrine of evolution regards the higher and more complex forms of life as gradually arising out of the lower and more simple. Every kind of being is regarded as a product of modifications wrought by insensible gradations on a pre-existing kind of living thing" (pp. 1, 2).

This statement of the meaning of evolution will be universally accepted. In some sense of the word every one now-a-days is an evolutionist. But in what sense? Dr Croll is an evolutionist in a different sense from, for example, Dr Romanes. He does not hold that the process of evolution is purely mechanical or physical, or that it is the result of matter, motion, and force alone. He holds that evolution can neither be stated nor explained, in terms of these elements. Mere evolutionists hold that evolution is a mechanical process. Dr Croll shows that such it cannot be. The main argument on which he relies is not precisely new; we have seen similar arguments in various books which deal with the Theistic argument. Dr Chalmers was wont to point out that the laws of matter cannot account for the collocations of matter. But we have nowhere seen the argument set forth so lucidly, with such knowledge and with such varied illustration and application to the particular sciences, as we have it set forth in this book. The exertion of force does not explain the direction, mode, and measure of the force. Given that force is exerted, we need still to explain why it acts in this way rather than in that. Nor does motion explain the determination of motion. The clear demonstration of the difference

between the exertion of force and the determination of force is one of the most valuable features of the book. Force may be exerted in any way; what needs to be explained is the precise way in which it is exerted. Dr Croll proves that what is true of force is true also of matter and motion. Neither matter, force, nor motion can determine matter, force, or motion. Out of many illustrations of this statement we select one. "The determinations which take place in nature occur not at random but according to a plan—an objective idea. Thus the question is not simply, what causes a body to take some direction, but what causes it to take, among the infinite number of possible directions, the proper direction in relation to the idea. In the formation of, say, the leaf of a tree, no two molecules move in identically the same direction or take identically the same path. But each molecule must move in relation to the objective idea of the leaf, or no leaf would be formed. The grand question is, what is it that selects from among the infinite number of possible directions the proper one in relation to the idea?" (p. 53). Every change must take place in some determinate manner. It is not enough to say that force is persistent, or that matter and motion and force persist. It is not enough to say with Spencer, "that organic growth takes place in the line of least resistance." For it must be shown what determines the lines of least resistance in relation to the organism. Mechanical principles will not explain the adaptation of means to ends in any organism. All the Spencerian notions set forth in the "First Principles" are examined by Dr Croll, and it is shown that Spencer has not been true to his own principles. The attempt made by him to pass from the indefinite to the definite is shown to involve principles which cannot be stated in terms of force, matter, or motion. Force may persist, but if the force is not constrained to act in definite ways, and under definite conditions, we may never pass beyond chaos.

Dr Croll deals in a similar manner with Darwinism, and has no difficulty in showing that the phenomena with which Darwin has dealt, needs more factors for their production than he has recognised. There is needed a "directing agency." Readers of Darwin's life will remember how much he resented the suggestion of Sir Charles Lyell to this effect. But Dr Croll makes the same suggestion, and shows that it is indispensable. After some chapters dealing with molecular motion in relation to unity of plan and to unity of purpose, he proceeds to speak of Evolution in relation to Teleology, and proves that the old argument from final causes is still vital. He expresses surprise that the discovery of the methods of nature should have led many to the abandonment of teleology. He might well be surprised when men have held that the discovery of unity of plan, of the adaptation of means to ends, and of the method by

which ends have been accomplished, showed the absence of a governing intelligence. Finally he shows that matter and motion cannot account for a succession of events with a plan and purpose running through them, and that "the theory of an eternal God gives a rational explanation of the order and intelligence which manifestly run through this succession of events." And no other theory can do so. The work is of great value in itself, and of special value as the work of a man at home with the methods of scientific thought and work, and versed in the exact thinking which science prescribes.

JAMES IVERACH.

The Religious Aspects of Evolution.

*By James M'Cosh, D.D., LL.D., Ex-President of Princeton College.
London: James Nisbet & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 130. Price 5s.*

THE venerable ex-President of Princeton College has been constrained to write on this subject because all along he has had "a sensitive apprehension that the indiscriminating denunciation of evolution from so many pulpits, periodicals, and seminaries might drive some of our thoughtful young men to infidelity, as they clearly saw development everywhere in nature, and were at the same time told by their advisers that they could not believe in evolution and yet be Christians." For many years Dr M'Cosh has maintained that a man may believe in evolution and yet be a Christian. In the little work published in 1876—"The Development Hypothesis"—Dr M'Cosh has written thus:—"I have ever stood up for a doctrine of Development. There is a development of one form of matter from another, of one force from another. There is, as everyone allows, a development of the plant and animal from the parent. I see nothing irreligious in holding that the bird may have been evolved by numerous transitions from the reptile, and the living horse from the old horse of the Eocene period. An accumulation of powers, new conditions and surroundings, may, it is acknowledged, produce a variety, which may become hereditary." It is easier now to make such statements than it was when Dr M'Cosh first made them. Both then and now Dr M'Cosh has done good work in recognising the greatness of Darwin, and in admitting the fruitfulness of his theory, and his powers as a scientific observer. Granting, however, all this, admitting that Darwin has pointed out real causes and discovered the true methods of Creation, neither then nor now does Dr M'Cosh admit that evolution explains everything.

It would be well both for theologians and for scientific men to remember the profound saying of Bishop Butler, that "what is natural requires and presupposes an intelligent agent to make it so, *i.e.*, to effect it continuously and at stated times." For men of science, and Darwin in particular, seem to think that when they have found the law and method of operation in evolution they have done all that is necessary. But the inquiry has still to be made, what is the cause of that which is "fixed, stated, settled," to use again the language of Butler. Granted evolution and its method, it really makes no more difference to the problems of Theism, than was made by the discovery of the law of gravitation, or any other law. Religion is as compatible with the reign of law everywhere, as it is with the reign of law anywhere.

Dr M'Cosh's little book is valuable for many reasons. His high authority and his elevated character, as well as his reputation as a conservative thinker, will have a calming influence on the minds of men and may induce them to look without alarm on Evolution, and its methods. The book is valuable because of the information it conveys. The first business of Dr M'Cosh is to state the question. "The question is said to be whether the origin of species and descent of living creatures are by supernatural power or natural law, by Creator or creative action, by design or by mechanism, by contrivance or by chance, by purpose or without purpose." But this is misleading. It ought to be stated otherwise. "Mr Darwin, followed by Dr Romanes and many others, is constantly drawing the distinction in this form: between 'natural selection' and 'supernatural design,' between 'natural law and special creation.' Now the difference between the two opposing theories is misleading, and this whether put by disbelief or by belief. The supernatural power is to be recognised in the natural law. The Creator's power is executed by creative action. The design is seen in the mechanism. Chance is obliged to vanish because we see contrivance. There is purpose where we see a beneficent end accomplished. Supernatural design produces natural selection. Special creation is included in universal creation." This paragraph really contains the gist of the book. All that is in it is illustration and setting forth of this thesis, "The design is seen in the mechanism." We thank Mr Darwin and Dr Romanes when they show us the mechanism, we can draw for ourselves the inference as to the design. When they discover for us the order and method of nature, we can supply what they omit, and say that order implies intelligence.

JAMES IVERACH.

The Apostolic Fathers. Part I. S. Clement of Rome.

A Revised Text, with Introductions, Notes, Dissertations, and Translations. By the late J. B. Lightfoot, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., Lord Bishop of Durham. London: Macmillan and Co. 1890. 2 vols. 8vo. Pp. 496 and 532. Price 32s.

THE appearance of this work completes the late Bishop of Durham's edition of "The Apostolic Fathers," as he had designed it more than thirty years ago. His final judgments on the epistles of Ignatius and Polycarp we already had; and now in these two volumes he has left us his completed views on the writings connected with the name of Clement of Rome. To the study of those writings he had for many years brought not only ripe scholarship and the results of a reading as remarkable for its range as for its retention of details, but also an ardour and enthusiasm that were extinguished only with his life, and which chained him to his task until he fell into a half-unconscious state three days before his death.

The present volumes are an attempt to weld together the materials contained in the Bishop's earlier works. In 1869 he published a "revised text," based on the only MS. then known—the uncial Codex Alexandrinus (A); in this one leaf of the *Epistle* and the end of the *Homily* were wanting. In 1875 Bryennios gave us the first complete text, from a cursive MS. (C) which he had discovered; and in the following year a complete Syriac version (S) was found and purchased for Cambridge University. Dr Lightfoot at once (1877) published an Appendix volume, in which he recorded and discussed the readings of C and S, comparing them with those of A. All this matter is embodied in the edition now issued, along with several lengthy dissertations more or less connected with the subject under review. Besides a fragmentary essay on "St Peter in Rome," which death interrupted, and another on Barnabas, we find almost the half of these two volumes occupied with elaborate essays on "Clement the Doctor," the "Early Roman Succession," and Hippolytus. The first of these supports Lightfoot's former identification of Clement as a Jewish freedman of the household of the consul Flavius Clemens with some stronger arguments. The second essay probably, in Dr Westcott's words, "finally settles the problem of the order of the first five bishops of Rome." Bishop Lightfoot adopts the order of Epiphanius, who, he contends, has preserved the list contained in the lost Memoirs of Hegesippus. As to Hippolytus we have, except for some sections that were never written, a really exhaustive treatise. Some parts, however, have appeared already, and the portion of it which will mainly attract the attention of scholars is that on the Muratorian Fragment. In a letter to the *Academy* last year the Bishop indicated his belief that

this document had been written originally in Greek iambics; and he now gives fuller reasons, as well as possible retranlations of the fragment, and ascribes it (probably) to Hippolytus.

Much of this is no doubt of permanent value, even if it should happen that the Bishop's views upon the Epistle to the Corinthians should turn out to be wrong: there was once a Bishop Clement, whether the Epistle known to us is or is not that Epistle which was known to the ancients. But when we turn to his treatment of what is surely the *raison d'être* of his book, the Greek text itself, we find what appear serious reasons for questioning several of his principal results. I am anxious to put these as clearly as possible, and to adduce some evidence in support of every piece of hostile criticism I may have to advance; and, therefore, owing to the limits necessarily placed on this paper, I must confine the reader's attention to one or two vital points.

And in the first place—although I have hesitated and deliberated long before committing myself to the statement—I feel compelled to say plainly that, substantial as are the proofs here of the Bishop's wide learning, and of his skilful use of that learning, there are also, unfortunately, only too many indications of failing ability. Such an assertion, I am fully aware, will almost certainly shock as well as surprise the reader, but I can only beg him to examine patiently and fairly the evidence that follows. In one instance, at any rate, it seems impossible to account in any other way for the remarkable confusion into which Dr Lightfoot has fallen. I shall try to state this case, which occurs in vol. i., pp. 410-411, as briefly as possible. The Bishop there says, speaking of Jerome, "We must suppose that he first became acquainted with the Epistles to Virgins in the not very long interval between the publication of the Catalogue and of the work against Jovinianus." This remark is repeated from the old edition; but in the meantime the author of "*Modern Criticism and Clement's Epistles to Virgins*" (Edin. 1884) has happened to assert that the "Letter to Eustochium" on virginity was written before the Catalogue, and now in an amazing foot-note nearly two columns long the Bishop takes him to task. He begins by quoting (p. 410) the author's statement that the Letter was written *before* the Catalogue, but in replying (p. 411) he alters the *before* into *after*, and then proceeds:—

"The Letter to Eustochium is assigned by Vallarsi on excellent grounds to the year A.D. 384; the *Catalogus* was certainly circulated some years before this (the date assigned is A.D. 378; see above, p. 173), and is referred to by Jerome himself at an earlier date (e.g., *adv. Jovinian.* ii. 26, II. p. 279). But the last chapter (§ 135), to which Mr Cotterill refers, was as certainly added to the *Catalogus* at some later revision or republication, as Jerome gives

the date . . . [A.D. 392], in the beginning of the same chapter about ten lines before the mention of the *Epistle to Eustochium*."

The italics are the Bishop's. Now, if we follow his reference back to p. 173, we first of all find that the only date he gives for the Catalogue is 392; it is another work altogether (the *Chronicon*) to which he there assigns the date 378. In the next place, the work *adv. Jovinian.*, is not of "an earlier date;" he himself assigns it to 393. Moreover, where would be "the not very long interval between the publication of the Catalogue and of the work against Jovinianus," if the one appeared in 378 and the other in 393? This "interval," the Bishop says in his text, was spent at Bethlehem; yet we know that the years 379-382 were passed in Constantinople, and 382-385 at Rome. And not only are the dates all mixed and confused, but the Bishop has actually, as will be seen, gone to all these pains to prove his opponent's case. This instance suggests that due caution should be exercised in accepting the conclusions at which he arrives from time to time. The failure of power shows itself in many ways. It was certainly no easy task to bring together into one consistent whole what he had written in 1869 and 1877, and the matter now first published. Still, it might have been done; and from this point of view the work cannot be considered a success. Great attention has been bestowed upon the addition of fresh matter, and far too little upon the recasting and revising of the old materials. The work is consequently marred in many instances by inconsistencies,¹ by the repetition of old mistakes² and omissions,³ and by incompleteness and inaccuracy⁴ in forming afresh the *apparatus criticus*.

¹ For example, in a note to *Ep.* 46 (ii. p. 140) he speaks of a quotation by Basil as "not found in our MS., and probably belonging to the lacuna from § 58," yet refers directly and in the same note to the Syriac MS., where, of course, the lacuna is supplied. Again, in ii. p. 208 *sq.*, he gives a summary of the contents of the *Homily*, and adds on to the summary made in 1869 the contents of those sections which were then unknown; but he retains the old prefatory remark, "The following is an analysis of the *fragment*."

² Thus, in *Hom.* 12 (ii. p. 238) he says that one of our Lord's sayings quoted by the writer of the *Homily* in § 9 "bears a close resemblance to the words as given in the *Excerpta Theodoti*." But at § 9 the Bishop cites the saying from "Clem. Alex. *Ecl. Proph.* 20 (p. 994)." He made the former statement in 1869, and drew an inference from it on p. 180, which he repeated in 1877 (p. 311), and yet again in the present work (ii. p. 202).

³ Dr Lightfoot fails to compare *Hom.* 9 with the context in *Ecl. Proph.* 20 and 21 just spoken of. Then, besides other passages which Clem. Alex. has in common with the *Epistle*, to which no reference is given in his commentary, the Bishop has omitted both in the *apparatus criticus* and in his notes to § 50 a reference to a passage first cited by Bernard. See Cotel. *Patr. Apost.*, ed. Clericus, i. p. 175. Bernard gave a wrong page, but the passage occurs in *Strom.* ii. 15, p. 463. This was pointed out in *Mod. Crit.*, p. 100.

⁴ See the last note. As inaccuracies the following, purposely taken from

The first thought should have been to make the text of the *Epistle*, and all that concerns it, as complete as possible, and to supply, for its better illustration, whatever had been defective in the edition of 1869. That edition was specially weak in that no effort was made in it to show the real relations subsisting between the Alexandrian Clement and his Roman namesake. Little more has been done in the present edition; for, though he says that Clem. Alex.'s writings are "steeped through and through with the influence of the Roman Clement" (i. p. 371), Dr Lightfoot has neglected to point out that the Alexandrian's total indebtedness to the language of the writer of the *Epistle* (apart from his quotations) amounts to *no more than about twelve lines*, except in one place—*Strom.* iv. 17 sq., p. 609 sq. There, as is supposed, he makes his way through the *Epistle* from beginning to end, borrowing, altering, and transposing as he goes. But Irenæus, Origen, Basil, Jerome, Eusebius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Peter of Alexandria, the writers of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, and other authors made use less or more of the *Epistle*; Clement himself had used it previously, and he used it again in later writings. "Is it not, then, a striking fact" (cf. i., p. 413), that not only the passages in the *Epistle* which had been and were going to be used by him, but also the passages which had been and *were going to be* used by the authors named above, are absolutely untouched by him in these excerpts? ¹ How could the Alexandrian have avoided all these passages, stopping dead short as he comes to passages required one day by Basil, Jerome, &c., and returning again when those passages are concluded? Space is wanting for the

within only 8 pages, may be noted: ii. p. 217 l. 18 "... δὲ] γὰρ AS; om. C; AC have λέγει δὲ καὶ. 219 l. 12 "... παροικίαν] AC; παρομίαν S;" C also has παρομίαν. 219 l. 19 "... ἀποκτέντας C"; C has ἀποκτένοντας. 220. l. 6. "... Χριστοῦ] C; Κυρίου S"; A also has Χριστοῦ. 222 l. 2. "... ἀγαθὰ καὶ] ἀγαθὰ τὰ AC; om. S"; A has ἀγαθὰ καὶ. 223 l. 15; in text, ἐν χερσὶν ὁ ἀγών; in the commentary Dr Lightfoot says, "The reading ἀγών for αἰών is doubtless correct"; A has αἰών, C ἀγών, but there is no mention of this in the *apparatus criticus*, and, as there is no note of this in the Appendix volume (1877), the reading of S is unrecorded. 224 l. 5 "... ἀγνωσώμεθα] AS; ἀγνωσώμεθα C"; C reads with A; there is a confusion here with l. 1 of § 7, p. 223, where C has ἀγνωσώμεθα for ἀγωνισώμεθα, a mistake of which no notice is taken. To these examples, which are tolerably glaring, I may add 234 l. 1 "... προφημένοι] προαιρούμεθα AC," where A has προφημένοι. This was correctly stated in 1877, and is one of the instances in which the inaccuracy belongs to the present edition.

¹ A passage in Polycarp is remarkable as the solitary exception, and in this case there is a simple explanation, for which those interested may be referred to an article on Polycarp, by Mr Cotterill, which is shortly to appear in the *Philological Journal*, and of which I have just seen the proof sheets.

working out of this argument, but it is well worth the consideration which it is clear that the Bishop never bestowed upon it.

There is another serious point on which it seems to me that the Bishop's arguments break down. One of the most important subjects in vol. i. is the discussion on the "Manuscripts and Versions," which is found on pp. 116-147. Dr Lightfoot first proves to his own satisfaction that C and S were independent of A, and then, finding himself with a number of errors which the three MSS. have in common, is driven to the theory that they derived these errors from an archetypal MS. written at about the close of the second century. This theory, however, will not stand serious examination. At the date mentioned the real *Epistle* of Clement was commonly read in the Churches, and MSS. must have been many in number; and the odds against the only three MSS. we possess being all derived from the same one of those many MSS. are so tremendous that one must needs believe that the Bishop's interpretation of the facts observable when A, C, and S are compared must be in some way at fault. It is impossible to go through his treatment of the question point by point, but it is quite possible, and indeed easy, to see how he goes astray. In the first place, the scribes of CS were in his view at one time virtually editors, making changes in the text before them for "harmonistic," "dogmatic," "grammatical," or "rhetorical" reasons; but at another time, when supplying readings acceptable to him, docile scribes, copying faithfully what they saw before them. Criticism of this subjective kind is purely arbitrary, and must lead the critic to false conclusions. In the next place, while he constantly draws attention to the differences in the texts supplied by the editors prior to the discovery of C and S, and while he often points out that C and S differ in the same places and in the same ways as the editors, he fails to see that the natural inference is that the same simple explanation which accounts for the differences of readings in the printed texts accounts also for the differences in the MSS. C and S. The fact that the editors had A in their hands, and exercised their judgment in filling in the lacunæ and correcting errors, explains everything in their case; and it is only reasonable to argue that a like explanation will account for differences of readings in CS in parallel passages, since MSS. will not fail again and again in the same places. The Bishop did not see this. He not only groups together a number of examples, almost every one of which suggests that A was the MS. used by the scribes of C and S, but on one occasion he actually speaks exultingly of having, in company with C, escaped a "trap" into which the other editors, in company with S, had fallen. And in the third place, though he speaks often of A, yet in his treatment of the subject A means only the readings of A, and not the MS. A

itself. Thus he never once allows his readers to know what the scribes of C and S would actually see, supposing they had A in their hands, though he had in his possession the photograph of A published in 1856. However, the autotype of C is now given at the end of vol. i., for the purpose, as the Bishop himself says, of testing his own labours and those of other critics. It only remains to show that the theory I have propounded of the relations of C, at least, to A is altogether confirmed when the autotypes are compared.

When the autotype of C is patiently examined, there are found instances in which the scribe, by his own marks upon the MS., has pointed out some peculiarity in A, or some variation from A. These instances of the use of marks are so numerous—I could supply a list of more than fifty—and often so precise, that the theory of accident is altogether precluded, and one is compelled to conclude that the scribe intended to record in some way in his own MS. the eccentricities, so to call them, of A, and his own departure from its text. I am conscious that many will consider that we are now treading on dangerous ground, and of course the strength of the evidence consists mainly in its cumulative force, while I have space here only for a very few examples. But at least some can be given, and possibly those who are really interested in the question will search out and try the others for themselves. On p. 464, l. 6, there is a false reading—ἀπέστιν for ἄπεστιν. The *η* comes *immediately* under the *ο* of *ο* λαός in the line above. Now in A that *ο* is written *ο* (i.e., *ον*), where the remains of the mark of contraction resemble two dots rather than a line; this error the scribe of C corrects, but he cannot resist the temptation to leave behind some sly hint, some mute indication, of the slip he has detected. How otherwise account for such a deliberate error as ἀπέστιν? On p. 428 δὲ ζῆλον occurs in lines 8 and 9, as well as in five other places: in lines 8 and 9, and in none of the other cases, the *δ* has a dot below it. Why? In line 8 C supplies a δὲ wanting in A, and in line 9 makes the same mistake as A by adding δὲ. Again, on p. 465, l. 7, C has αὐτὰ, with a mark under τὰ; over it is ἄλλο τ. (The word is ἀλλότρια, but the *ο* is jammed close up against the λ, and a space left between it and the τ which readily catches the eye.) The editors may be supposed to have adopted the hint, for they print ταῦτα, the reading of A. And here it may not be out of place to remind the reader that, as the scribe of C was in the habit of using two lines in writing, so also he must have been in the habit of seeing two lines.

But I pass to two examples of a more remarkable kind, which I submit to the judgment of the unbiassed student. C often uses an uncial δ, and always as a capital, though never where a capital is

fitting; that is to say, it is used to call special attention to something that the scribe is doing. Such a δ will be found in $\delta\iota\alpha$ at the end of the last line but one on p. 429. Below it in the next line is a very large ϵ ; to the left is a dotted τ , and presently the dotted o of $\delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\acute{o}\tau\eta\varsigma$. Under the δ of this word, at some distance below the bottom line, is a very small o , with a tiny dot at the side, and a mark above pointing to the δ . No other such phenomenon as a spare letter dropped on the margin below the text occurs in the MS.; why is it here? The mystery is at once explained by A, in which not only is the δ of $\delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\acute{o}\tau\eta\varsigma$ missing, but, also, within the gap thus left an o from the opposite side of the leaf faintly peeps through. This o is easily found, and the line below it is $\pi\rho\omicron\delta\eta\lambda\omicron\nu\ \pi\omicron\iota\omicron\nu\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ o\ |\ \tau\iota\ .\ .\ .$! Finally, in § 57, in the course of a quotation from $\Sigma\phi\acute{\iota}\alpha$, as the writer calls Proverbs, there is another curious coincidence in A. This MS. is in that leaf in a terrible condition: at the top is a hole through the leaf, while the right-hand margin is throughout broken and defaced—so much so that at the lower part of the leaf the words $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\omicron\phi\eta\ \omicron\mu\omicron\iota\alpha$ with κ occupy all that is left of a line. A “catastrophe like” to this broken parchment, we can hardly help thinking. At any rate, Leo, the scribe of C, appears to have taken it so, for on p. 457 that word $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\omicron\phi\eta$ is seen straddling across a veritable catastrophe. The $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ stands on one side and the $\sigma\tau\rho\omicron\phi\eta$ on the other at the top of a dirty-looking place in the parchment, which has been scraped and scraped until a hole has been made closely resembling in size and form the hole just mentioned as in A; and the scribe has heightened the effect by foisting into the text the words $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \sigma\tau\epsilon\nu\omicron\chi\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$. And it must be observed that the catastrophe happened not after but before this and the preceding page were written, for on both pages the Greek runs on correctly on either side of the hole. In the autotype the lines indeed run straight on; but the letters are some of them letters belonging to the opposite page and quite legible, the others being letters dimly seen through the semi-transparent parchment where it has been scraped. In the MS., though not in the autotype, the pages 456 and 457 stand back to back; and it is perhaps enough to add that a conspicuous mark has been put on the lower margin of p. 456, just where the letters from p. 458 show through the hole, and again a mark at the bottom of p. 458 to point out what it is that is seen from p. 456.

If C used A, then no small part of the Bishop's conclusions falls to the ground—all his many pages on the MSS. and versions—not to mention that the text would require reconstruction. In a word, if what has been here advanced is sound, the book is hit in quite its most vital part. I cannot hope that the evidence just led will appear conclusive, but it may surely form grounds on which to demand

a fresh and more searching examination of these MSS. than has hitherto been made. At any rate, I submit it as fair and reasonable criticism.

W. DUNDAS WALKER.

The Christian Ministry : its Origin, Constitution, Nature, and Work. A Contribution to Pastoral Theology.

By William Lefroy, D.D., Dean of Norwich. London : Hodder & Stoughton. Pp. 578. Price 14s.

The Framework of the Church : A Treatise on Church Government.

By W. D. Killen, D.D. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 350. Price 9s.

HERE are two works written from much the same theological standpoint, but giving what one of them calls "Prelacy" the highest and lowest place respectively. This makes one wish for the day when the historic method, in all its severity, may have complete sway within its own sphere. But what is its sphere? Dean Lefroy has at least felt the problem, though without solving it. He falls foul of Dr Hatch on the ground that he ignores the Spirit's agency in the Christian Church. To reply that the Dean ignores His presence in the world at large, and that, as De Pressensé confesses in his "*Siècle Apostolique*" (1888), God's gradual immanent development of His plan in the world needs franker recognition, would be just but inadequate. For a confusion still lurks, though hardly a justifiable one after Dr Hatch's explanations, especially in the weighty pages with which his Bampton Lectures end. Pentecost, no doubt, represents a special divine illumination, but not as to organization, rather as to the faith or life which called for a fresh organization. Of this faith Dr Hatch warns all that he cannot then and there speak, but it is assumed as the new vital impulse assimilating and moulding all existing elements and forces in society. If, then, the Dean would only read "Holy Catholic organization-forms" for "Holy Catholic Church" in his pages, much offence would be avoided. For such forms are empirical, not transcendental; and to regard them as relatively human and so completely within the historic sphere, is surely not to ignore the Holy Spirit.

Still, differences do remain. Pre-eminently that caused by the Dean's assumption that among "the things pertaining to the kingdom of God" (Acts i. 3), communicated by the risen Christ, were the organization and constitution of the Church. But if he would

patiently conform his notion of "the Church" to the Apostolic consciousness at that period (Acts i. 6) and as subsequently revealed in the early speeches in the Acts, he would feel that such an idea is a part of the old leaven of traditional hypotheses. Further, his remarks on Judaism are hardly correct when he asks, "Can a tribal cult evolve a universal creed?" For surely Judaism as a proselytizing legal Monotheism was as universal as the Messianic Monotheism of the Judæo-Christian Gospel, whose centre of gravity was still "the kingdom to be restored to Israel," while their watchword was "through circumcision to Christ;" although we recognise that the Messianic element to which the elder apostles gave so large a place, contained the potency of that higher Universalism the explicit recognition of which justified the apostle of the Gentiles in speaking of his message as "my Gospel." Until this stage was reached, could there be a distinctive constitution of the Christian Church on the Apostolic horizon at all? Thus the author's question (p. 31) is easily answered, "Is it credible that a religion, the ordinary life of which was expressed by the synagogue, brought into being, directly or indirectly, that Catholicity which, in range and in dogma, specializes the Christian Church?" A careful study of the Epistle of James *by its own light* in the first instance, and with the Acts and 1st Peter, will show (as the Dean hints, p. 71) that the dogma there enshrined has more affinity to the synagogue than to later "Catholicism," and that the worship corresponds thereto. The temple is frequented at the stated hours, Jewish usages are kept up, the church in James (v. 14, ii. 2) meets as a "synagogue;" and in harmony with this it is of "elders" only that we hear in this sphere. Even the apparent exception of the "Deacons" in Acts vi. on closer inspection proves the rule. For whatever their functions, the title "deacon" is not applied to them even when they are incidentally referred to in Acts xxi. 8 (*οἱ ἑπτά*); which suggests that the technical use of the term originated where we first find it, viz., in the Gentile sphere. But of Jewish and Gentile varieties of type the Dean takes little account, hardly realizing, one imagines, the relative independence of the mission to the Gentiles, in which its apostle sets little store by general apostolic precedent (*cf.* Gal. ii. 7-10). What in this matter bulks before his eye is "spiritual gift" as a divine endowment, and the common advantage to which such is put; not office but function (*cf.* the abstract *ἀντιλήψεις*, &c., side by side with the concrete *διδασκαλούς*) is his point of interest. Here we believe him to be in an hopeless conflict with the Dean's point of view, of which almost every page would furnish instances. To Paul "the divine origin" of the *Charisma* leaves no place to "flesh and blood," but to recognise it and join its recipient in self-dedication to its full

realisation. And this not only in relation to the itinerant functions, but also to the localised, where "office" simply means the recognised exercise of a gift become permanent, the genesis being marked in 1 Thess. v. 12-13, and 1 Cor. xvi. 15-18, which represent the early history of churches, while the status of "bishops and deacons" in Phil. i. 1 represents a later stage.

Apart from the activity of the apostles, who as "witnesses" obviously stand in a quite unique relation to the Christian society, there is nothing to show that the societies were other than structureless, except for the nascent differentiation spoken of by Christ as "ministering" and "being ministered to" (*cf. eis diakoniam ēταξαν ἑαυτοὺς*, 1 Cor. xvi. 15), upon which the divine character of His own Messianic office rested, and upon which surely grades of divinity in function among His "disciples" may sufficiently rest.

We have thought it best to attempt to supply the historic point of view from which to test Dean Lefroy's position that his "ministerial order—threefold, unequal, historic," was "initiated, accepted, adopted by the holy apostles," although their daily expectation, in absence of knowledge as to "the times and seasons"—and that for years—was that the present age was just about to fade into the kingdom of the "age to come." Hence whatever their actual arrangements may have been, they are not statutory, and indeed no Church attempts to realise them all. To have followed the Dean into detail would have been endless, mere "pecking" at a position, such as are his remarks on Harnack's, at any rate, coherent system. Here we see our author at his worst. For his views on points of literary criticism like the Synoptic problem, the sources of the Acts, Old Testament quotations, are obviously but *primâ facie* impressions, based on a notion of inspiration reflected in his Appendix on "Inspired Anticipations of Modern Science."

Of the other appendices it need only be said that in the course of the polemic—as in general where he confronts Dr Cunningham—our author's fairness supplies enough quotation and other material to give room for the reader's own judgment. In that on "the Prophecy of Malachi; its Eucharistic Significance and Patristic Application," as on Sacerdotalism and Apostolic Succession in general, the Dean is much more at home and hits hard.

Professor Killen's work consists of four parts, entitled "The Church and its government," "Congregationalism," "Prelacy," and "Presbyterianism." Part I. indicates the value of a true form of church polity, and gives hints towards its discovery. The point of view is much the same as Dr Lefroy's. We cannot say it is a lucid work. Doubtless there is much good material, but it would need a good workman to utilise it. Its tone is sometimes hardly one of "calm review," as when Robert Brown is labelled an "ill-con-

ditioned visionary" (p. 102). Too often, also, we meet such statements as these: "The Church is described in Holy Writ as the 'kingdom of heaven,' and we are not to suppose that its regulations should move on in harmony with 'the course of this world'" (p. 15). "Though professedly so jealous of the *union* of spiritual and civil authority, they (Independents) have no objection to bring their ecclesiastical *influence to bear on* concerns of State" (p. 55, italics ours).

The other parts are more polemical, and consist of an exposure of two aberrant tendencies, followed by an exposition of the true mean. Space will not permit notice of the attack on the "Prelatical" extreme. One who is not committed to the "reading back" attitude of "a servant of the Church" or tradition, but traces a growth in the order of growth, can here hardly fail to agree with the author's main contention.

The strictly historical issue, therefore, concerns Congregationalism, which is treated first. His general estimate can hardly be called appreciative. Yet it is not so ungenerous as it looks. What is criticised is but a figment—an atomistic Congregationalism which thinks that all fellowship and conference infringe its rights,—in his own words, a "stand-off Christianity" (p. 80). He has quoted a fragment from the Declaration of the Union in 1833. Would it not have been as well to give the complementary paragraph (x.)? "It is the duty of Christian churches to hold communion with each other, to entertain an enlarged affection for each other as members of the same body, and to co-operate for the promotion of the Christian cause; but that no church, or union of churches, has any right or power to interfere with the faith or discipline of any other church, further than to separate from such as, in faith or practice, depart from the Gospel of Christ."

In the chapter on the New Testament basis of Congregationalism, the author, after eight pages on the phenomena at Corinth, remarks that he has taken it for granted that there were elders or rulers in the Corinthian Church. Why? Because "these existed elsewhere," and appear prominently "forty years afterwards." This is very inadequate, if it is the fact, that the only ministry referred to in the Epistle itself is that of "volunteers," for whom the Apostle asks recognition (1 Cor. xvi. 15-18; cf. 1 Thess. v. 12, 13).

Chapter V., on "the Insufficiency, unfairness, and divisive tendency of the Congregational system," plies the *reductio ad absurdum* method most vigorously. Thus, "In ordinary cases the *rulers* are distinguished from the *ruled*; and yet here *all* are *in authority*, and yet *all* are *under authority*" (p. 93). But the Christian Church, which to Christ's mind reverses the ordinary notions of rule and authority, is precisely an extraordinary case of organisation. And

as to the election of ministers, we all believe that God gives, but among men it is the Church in question that judges whether He has given.

There is much that invites criticism in Dr Killen's reasonings on the three great Church systems. Our last word, however, would be rather of the nature of an *eirenicon*. We should say that, as the vigorous life of the primitive Church probably contained in fusion the elements which in history have hardened into the three main types of polity, so none of these, carried out in an exclusive or antithetical spirit, can be true or expedient; but that, in proportion as a polity is able to absorb all the elements emphasised by the others, while maintaining its own characteristic principle or basis—be it responsible liberty, consensual order, or official unity—it will justify itself as the historical development of the germinal polity of the New Testament. We believe, too, that the vital instinct, thus to take a leaf out of another's book, is on the increase, and constitutes the best hope for that future union, whose lovers are more numerous than its advocates.

VERNON BARTLET.

The Book of Proverbs.

By R. F. Horton, M.A. (Expositor's Bible.) London: Hodder & Stoughton. Post 8vo., pp. viii.—418. Price 7s. 6d.

READERS of the *Expositor* will perhaps remember a paper in the volume for 1888 (1) entitled "Christ's Use of the Book of Proverbs," and signed "R. F. Horton." It gave indeed but few results which a modern critic would be able to call proved, but it showed a remarkable sympathy with that richly imaginative use of the Hebrew Scriptures which we may presume to have been habitual with our Lord. The author went far to prove thereby his competence as a public teacher of the Bible; one only wanted to know how far he was able to do justice to the original historical sense of the older Scriptures. For many educated readers now-a-days are beginning to appreciate the beauty and edifying virtue of a truly historical view of the Old Testament, and to require a background of historical criticism in pulpit expositions. For such readers, as well as for others, provision has been made in the *Expositor's Bible*. We have Mr G. A. Smith, who maintains the thesis of the value of criticism to the Church in its fullest extent; Mr Ball, whose concessions are marred by ungraceful personal controversies; and now Mr Horton, who is not less earnest than either in his zeal for progressive study. His equipment as a scholar is no doubt inferior

to that of his able predecessors. When he ventures into Hebrew philology, his judgment has no independent value, and is once at least evidently wrong. (See the note on p. 296.) Nor is much reference made to the higher criticism, for which of course I do not blame him, for how can Proverbs be treated historically apart from the other monuments of Hebrew wisdom? Job and Proverbs at any rate should have been treated in conjunction on the basis of some provisional critical scheme, as the different prophetic writings in the Book of Isaiah have been so ably treated by Mr Smith. But I will not dwell on this point. The counsel, had it been offered to the editor, could not have been listened to for cogent practical reasons. Suffice it to say that the non-critical plan of arranging the material of Proverbs under headings is carried out with judgment and with delicate appreciation of the old and of the new Wisdom, and that where it was absolutely necessary, viz., in the exposition of the last two chapters, Mr Horton does full justice to undeniable critical results. I wish this brightly-written volume the success it so well deserves.

T. K. CHEYNE.

**Das Deuteronomium. Eine Schutzschrift wider
modern-kritisches Unwesen.**

By *Adolf Zahn, D.D. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. 1890. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. vii. and 122. (Price not stated.)*

ABOUT twenty years ago the old Cathedral in Halle, used as the "Reformed" church, was manned by a staff of three. One of these was Adolf Zahn. Handsome, pale, and of tall figure, Zahn towered from the pulpit, and launched sentences of doom over "godless, unhappy Halle." Yet he could be very kind, and there was a fascination for him in the student throng that gathered once a fortnight for "academical Divine Service" in his own Cathedral. Tholuck and Riehm fostered the Sunday-school in Brauhausgasse, and Zahn taught the teachers' preparation-class. He delighted to give his high Calvinistic exegesis to the students who helped in that happy school. How the eye moistens as the vision comes up out of the past!

Zahn was studious, and won his Dr. Theol. from Marburg—a different Marburg then, indeed, from what it is now. Soon he was called to the Wupperthal; and now after varying toils, and much printing of pamphlets, especially concerning the Reformed Church, he dwells in Stuttgart and writes on Deuteronomy.

The little book is dedicated to Prof. Green of Princeton. It

proposes (1) to treat of the genuineness or veritable Mosaic authorship of the Book, as we have it; next (2) to prove the Unity of the Book, and finally (3) and (4) to give Zahn's view of its relation to all the rest of the Bible, *i.e.*, its essential necessity in its place in the whole. Appended are extracts from Zahn's favourite teacher, J. Wichelhaus, and from Prof. Green.

We may rapidly summarise his diffuse arguments for the traditional view. He thinks we should translate in ch. i. v. 1, and other like passages, "Moses spake, &c., *on this side Jordan*." But what say our Revisers? He thinks that no true prophet, later than Moses, would ever have uttered his own oracles as records of the Mosaic law, and tells us that never again did any prophet arise like unto Moses, the unique and incomparable. But what of the promise and the authorisation in ch. xviii.? He adds that we know nothing of any documentary materials bequeathed by Moses. But most people think Deuteronomy itself speaks of some. He holds that never did any Hebrew writer in our sacred Scriptures put his own words in the mouth of any great personage. But this is a sweeping assertion. Further, Zahn professes that we need not find cause for suspicion in the description of Moses in the third person. He says Samuel spoke of himself in the third person (1 Sam. xii. 11). When he proceeds to compare Deuteronomy's regulations with those of Exodus and Leviticus, he counts the former simply explanations and enforcements of the latter. But to many who compare them this gives difficulty. Finally, the Deuteronomic identification of the audience in Moab with that at Horeb Zahn explains by the presence of the children in the loins of their fathers.

A new section now proposes to answer difficulties. Here we are told that when the writer says, "Israel has already taken possession of West Canaan" (ch. iii. 12), the words are Moses's words spoken in strong faith that Israel should certainly possess the land. When we read how the towns Jair took "are called Hawwoth-Jair unto this day," Zahn says the words would be quite natural if "this day" meant only a few months after Jair took the towns. He contends that the effort to concentrate sacrificial worship in one place was not at all specially characteristic of later times. He quotes Delitzsch's remark, "From the beginning onwards the history of Israel moves towards the goal of centralization." Very true this is, but no support for Zahn. He proceeds to deny that concentration of cultus was a chief motive with the law-giver in writing Deuteronomy. But readers will generally continue in the belief that it was. He makes here one real contribution to criticism of the Book, which is valuable although it is negative. He points out, namely, that Deuteronomy does not aim at con-

centration of cultus in Jerusalem. He might have added another valuable note, if he had pointed out that it does name, more than once, a place for the concentration. Had he done so, he could have fixed the origin of the Book as certainly prior to 720 B.C. But he goes in other ways, and tells us that an ever expanding development from small beginnings has not been the order of Providence with the churches.

We turn to his consideration of the date of the Book. Here his attitude towards those whom he opposes is happily not common among students. He tells us that criticism hunts eagerly through the centuries and finds no place for the rise of Deuteronomy. But he proceeds to recount how Kleinert, Schlatter, Riehm, Kittel, Kuenen, have each of them proposed a probable date. His own conclusion is that none of these dates will do.

The second division of the pamphlet, which proposes to discuss the Unity of Deuteronomy, begins fitly with a good, though very brief, outline of the whole. Would it not have been logical and wise to set this analysis and this discussion of the Unity first in the pamphlet, and then to proceed to seek for author and date? Zahn re-opens, however, the whole question he has already settled. He argues that the language of chaps. i.-iv. is quite like that of the rest of the Book. He claims that repetitions of matter do not prove many authors. Certainly he illustrates this by his own immediate repetition, for the third time, of his faith that the Moab and Horeb congregations were identical. The new superscription in ch. iv. 44 he acknowledges; but he adds it is no superscription, it is simply one of many assertions that the law is from Moses. Against the contention that chaps. v.-xxviii. are not a continuation of the Numbers narrative, Zahn presents a number of parallel passages in the two Books. But parallels are scarcely continuations. He declines to consider the theory of an editorial hand retouching the Book, for he thinks that thus one might prove anything. He holds that Riehm and others deny the possibility of predictive prophecy. But this is hard to believe.

And now a surprise comes. Zahn becomes himself a dissecting critic, and announces that the Book of Deuteronomy closes at ch. xxxi. 23. The remainder, chaps. xxxi. 24—xxxiv. 12, so long bound up with all the rest, is to Zahn the beginning of the Book of Joshua. After all Zahn is one of the critics.

Meanwhile let us note the essential faults of his position:—

1. His lament in his preface that there is no longer any authority among us, does dishonour to the acknowledged authority of God over the regenerate; and of that number "there are more than seven thousand" among Bible students.

2. The spirit of the times it is which makes Zahn so fearlessly

assertive of his own opinion. He speaks from a sense of the presence of God with his conscience and his reasoning soul. He fails, however, to respect many another reasoning soul and conscience, and yet may not God be with them also?

3. He pronounces men like Weizsäcker, Wellhausen, Kuenen, Riehm, underminers of the Church, dilettanti, sophists, bravados, unbelievers, deceivers, profane, selfish, frivolous. But this is not the way to refute argument. Let Zahn lift up his eyes, and behold the Hosts of God.

ARCHD. DUFF.

Praktische Theologie.

Von Dr E. Chr. Achelis, ord. Professor der Theologie an der Universität Marburg. Erster Band. Freiburg i. B., J. C. B. Mohr. 1890. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xvi. 549. Price M. 11.

ANY addition to the already long list of German works on Practical Theology may well be expected to contain some explanation of its appearance. Professor Achelis has had a long and varied experience of some thirty years' official service in the Church of Christ; two years in a small country charge, twelve in a manufacturing suburb of Bremen, seven in an industrial centre on the Lower Rhine, and eight in a theological chair. The work, of which this is the first volume, is a systematic exposition of principles tested by this lengthened experience, but the author candidly informs us that his review has not always vindicated his practice. The main claim, however, which he puts forward, is that his work marks a real advance in the treatment of Practical Theology as a science. The science was founded by Schleiermacher, but his conception of it was vitiated by a view of the Church which never rose above a voluntary association, and yet made the laity absolutely dependent on the clergy. C. J. Nitzsch reformed the science by reverting to the conception of the Church as *congregatio sanctorum*, with certain divinely imparted powers and privileges, and by insisting that these powers and privileges belong to the whole Church, though for reasons of order they are exercised through certain representative organs and offices. The whole Church, and not, as on Schleiermacher's view, the clergy and laity respectively, is subject and object of those activities with which Practical Theology has to deal. But a review of the literature of the science shows that, in spite of Nitzsch's services, there must still be some radical defect in its treatment. In point of fact, there is no agreement as to what should

be included in the science, with the single exception of the cure of souls or Pastoral Theology. Professor Achelis goes back to Nitzsch's position, and laying down the principle that Practical Theology has to do only with the efficiency of the Church for edification, and must confine itself to those activities which are the necessary outcome of Church life as it aims at edification, he finds in the essential predicates of the Church a guide for the determination of the proper contents of the science. Holiness, unity, and catholicity have, no doubt, been very variously interpreted as predicates of the Church, but they are universally recognised, and Professor Achelis thinks an evangelical construction of them may legitimately form the basis of an Evangelical Practical Theology. The holiness of the Church may be shown to provide a basis for Catechetics, Homiletics, and Poimenics as parts of the science. For the Church, as holy, has to maintain and perfect in each member its essential character, and must, therefore, catechise the young, preach the word of God to those in full membership, and carefully tend individuals whether young or old. The Church, as essentially one, must cherish the consciousness of unity, and repress all tendencies to isolation or separation. This is effected through fixed forms of worship, identical confessions and prayers, &c.; which supplies a basis for including Liturgics. The catholicity of the Church means that the Church is fitted to be a blessing to all nations, and must, therefore, extend over the whole earth. Christ is Head of the nations; and in Him the world has been reconciled to God. The Church must cherish the assurance of yet embracing the whole world; the life of the Church is most intimately connected with the missionary spirit and interest; and so the Theory of Missions must find a place in Practical Theology. But after demonstrating this our author somewhat inconsistently determines to treat missions as a matter of voluntary association within the Church. He does this because it agrees with the actual state of the case in Germany, and because he does not think it expedient at present to interfere with arrangements originally due to default on the part of the Church. Holiness and unity are found operating together in public worship, as combining the use of liturgical forms with the preaching of the Word; and accordingly Practical Theology must include a discussion of Public Worship. Naturally, too, when the conception of the science is made to depend so closely on the conception of the Church and its activities, a preliminary discussion of the Doctrine of the Church and its Offices is indispensable; and on the ground that there must always be some guarantee for the right administration of office in the Church, Professor Achelis further argues that there must be a department of Church Government, which, as reviewing all other activities, naturally comes last.

The present volume contains, besides the general introduction, the Doctrine of the Church and its Offices, Catechetics, Homiletics, and Poimenics. The three last named are discussed at great length and with ample learning; but one can only wonder at the pedantry that restricts them to work carried on among the members of the Church. The discussion of preaching, as regards both matter and form, is full and suggestive. But the exposition of the Doctrine of the Church and its Offices is disappointing in its meagreness, and in some of its results. The topic is manifestly discussed, not with the view of exhausting it, but merely as a basis for the activities recognised as falling under Practical Theology. The doctrine of the Church contained in the Augsburg Confession and its Defence by Melancthon, is subjected to a keen criticism, but one is hardly prepared to find the author subsequently ignoring his own criticisms. He objects to the eighth article of the Confession as inconsistent with his interpretation of the seventh, but he afterwards falls back on the eighth. A brave attempt is made, not always with success, to excuse Luther's inconsistency in his utterances on the Church. It is easy to draw a vivid contrast between the Church as conceived by the Reformers, and the external state-like unity of the Roman conception. But our author apparently does not see that, in common with many Lutherans, he runs the very serious risk of making the salvation of the individual the result of a Church process, which has a dangerous similarity to the Roman view. The invisible and the visible Church are two aspects of one and the same subject, which as entrusted with word and sacrament is objectively holy; and by the effectual working of Christ in word and sacrament this objective holiness is so connected with subjective holiness exhibited in faith and love, and all the fruits of the Spirit, that doubt of attaining the latter is not admissible. But Professor Achelis has no sympathy with "high" views of the clerical office; the clergy have no inherent powers; they only represent the whole Church, which for the sake of order agrees to exercise through them powers that properly belong to all. And so when he, in discussing absolution, expresses an opinion in favour of private absolution, he would have it unrestricted, for he means by it only such an assurance of the pardoning mercy of God toward the penitent as might be given by any Christian to one who consults him in a "case of conscience." Providential circumstances should, he thinks, largely determine the work of the Church, and therefore the Evangelical Church of Germany is called on to checkmate the craft and power of the Jesuits, and to help the Emperor in his attempt to guide the social movement and destroy the demon of revolution and anarchy. I have found several typographical errors, some of them, unfortunately, in the references.

JAMES ROBERTSON.

Messianic Prophecy: its Origin, Historical Growth, and Relation to New Testament Fulfilment.

By Dr Edward Riehm. New Edition, translated by Rev. Lewis A. Muirhead, B.D. With an Introduction by Professor A. B. Davidson, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Post 8vo. Pp. xviii., 348. Price 7s. 6d.

Messianic Prophecies in Historical Succession.

By Franz Delitzsch. Translated by Samuel Ives Curtiss, Professor in Chicago Theological Seminary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Crown 8vo. Pp. xii., 232. Price 5s.

WE welcome the appearance of the second edition of Riehm's "Messianic Prophecy," translated by the Rev. L. A. Muirhead, B.D. The first edition of this valuable work is probably well known, and it is now satisfactory to note that its bold but reverent and scientific treatment of the Messianic thought of the Old Testament has been so widely appreciated, and that a translation of the second edition has been demanded. It is not always very easy reading, and it cannot be denied that, in the English translation, the reader finds at times the somewhat severely philosophical colouring of the language almost too faithfully reproduced. But the fair and dispassionately historical manner in which the subject of Messianic Prophecy is discussed, is deserving of the highest praise, and merits, in the present day, our patient and thorough investigation. It is not a book suited for beginners in the study of Old Testament Theology. But for teachers and for more advanced students it cannot fail to be of the utmost service. To Mr Muirhead our thanks are due for his careful and sympathetic translation; and it is not too much to say that his *Appendices* of Scripture Citations, Bibliography, &c., will immensely enhance the value of the English version of Riehm's book.

Professor Curtiss' translation of Dr Delitzsch's "Messianic Prophecies in Historical Succession" is a book which many an English student will be glad to possess, if only for the interest attaching to the last literary work on which the great German theologian and Hebraist was occupied before he was summoned to his rest. Delitzsch's treatment of the subject is well known to the English student through Professor Curtiss'

translations of his "Lectures on Messianic Prophecies," and his "Old Testament History of Redemption." The distinctness of the general arrangement and the many suggestive notes on isolated points will make this work of the veteran scholar acceptable to students of all shades of opinion, and it is needless to say that every page seems to speak the author's intense personal belief in the Revelation of the Divine Messiah. It is somewhat touching to read the author's reference, in the course of the introductory remarks, to the modification of view with which he had, with such singular openness of mind, identified himself in his declining years. Except to those who are acquainted with the last edition of Delitzsch's Commentary on Genesis, it will perhaps be startling to read such a sentence as that in which he describes the narrative contained in Gen. iii. as "an old *sage* found by [the narrator], which he communicates to us in a form in which, stripped of its heathen mythological accessories, it has sustained the criticism of the spirit of revelation."

Professor Curtiss is able, by this translation, to offer a last tribute of devotion to his great and revered teacher. The now numerous English readers of Delitzsch's writings receive, through the kind offices of a sympathetic translator, a final sample of his lecture-work, full of the learning, the love and the enthusiasm which ever distinguish the writings of the renowned Biblical commentator.

HERBERT E. RYLE.

Von der Rechtfertigung durch den Glauben. Ein Beitrag zur Rettung der Protestantischen Cardinal-Dogmas.

Von Dr Edouard Böhl, Professor an der Evangelisch-Theologischen Facultät in Wien. Leipzig: K. Gustorff, 1890. Amsterdam: Scheffer & Co. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 327. Price M. 7.

The Doctrine of the Death of Christ in relation to the Sin of Man, the Condemnation of the Law, and the Dominion of Satan.

By the Rev. Nathaniel Dimock, A.M. London: Elliot Stock. Pp. 136. Appendix pp. 92. Price 7s. 6d.

DR BÖHL is Professor of Reformed Dogmatics in the Theological Faculty of Vienna—a position which he came from the North to

fill in 1864. During these years he has exerted a vigorous evangelical influence on the studies of the Bohemian Reformed and other Protestant Churches within the Austrian Empire. He is the author of a *Christologie des Alten Testaments*, a compact *Dogmatik* in one volume, a tractate *Von der Incarnation des göttlichen Wortes*, and several minor treatises. His thesis in the book named above is that the modern Protestant Churches have all but entirely departed from the central doctrine of the Reformers on "Justification." This he grounds mainly on the growing tendency, which he traces as far back, in the orthodox succession, as Cotta, the editor of J. Gerhard's "*Loci*," to co-ordinate the implanted principle of holiness with the act of Justification, even to identify the New Birth with the moment of Pardon and Acceptance, and to lay more stress on the infusing of gracious habits and powers, than on declaration of righteousness before God. This tendency in much professedly evangelical teaching to substitute imparted righteousness in the redeemed for the imputed righteousness of the Redeemer—though not quite identical with the Romanising relapse of Newman, Alexander Knox, and most broad Church teaching among ourselves, is nevertheless an approach to it, and a real service is done by this trenchant exposure of it. Whether it is necessary to be so laborious in proving its identity with the whimsical theology of Osiander may be questioned. While some more thorough penetration into the causes of this strange re-action from the central Protestant doctrine would have been desirable, one cannot but be grateful to Dr Böhl for his historical sketch, for his grounding of the doctrine itself in Scripture, and for his terse statement of its various relations as, *e.g.* to Man's Primitive Standing, to Original Sin, to Human Nature, to the Holy Ghost, to the Incarnation, to the New Birth, to Predestination, to Sanctification and the Life of the Justified. The statement (p. 318) that the true doctrine of Justification was held only for a generation by Luther and Calvin, that there were none into whose hands it could be entrusted, has an overdriven look, and re-acts unfortunately on the position which is so vital to the Christian Church. If the only true statement of the doctrine is balanced on such a knife-edge of theological precision, that men so anxious to maintain it as Beza, Owen, and Turretine, failed to do so correctly, how can it be that fundamental and epoch-making doctrine which we have all held it to be? This is, however, only one of the overshots of a marksman keen to show his skill. Dr Böhl is nothing if not polemic.

His style is unteutonic, smart, racy, and if on occasion almost slangy, is never tiresome. To those who have an interest in its topic there is not a dull page in this book.

Mr Dimock's book is a defence of the evangelical doctrine of the

Atonement partly reprinted from the pages of *The Churchman*. It is replete with learning,—the Catena of evangelical opinion in the Appendix being in itself quite a mine of quotation. The body of the book and the notes are full also of references to the ecclesiastical writers of all ages. The author's anxiety, however, is to ground the orthodox position on Scripture testimony. It was surely not necessary to insist so much on what he calls the "subservience (in some sense) of the doctrine of the Incarnation to the doctrine of the Atonement," or to defend the patristic position about the reference of the Atonement to the claims of Satan—a topic to which he devotes an entire "Additional Note."

JOHN LAIDLAW.

The Apocalypse: Its Structure and Primary Predictions.

By David Brown, D.D., Principal of the Free Church College, Aberdeen. Hodder & Stoughton, 1891. Cr. 8vo, pp. xi., 224. Price 5s.

THE Apocalypse is a nut on which many teeth have been broken, and although the shell has been sufficiently shattered to allow some of the fragrance to be exhaled, the kernel, whole and palpable, may be said to remain as yet hidden. Possessing an irresistible fascination for a certain class of minds, it has with others been at once marked off as an unexplored territory, like Central Africa or the Arctic circle, where an adventurous critic may win his laurels, but where he is much more likely to come to grief.

On this singular book, which perhaps more than any other in the Bible, or even in all literature, requires not only exceptional sanity of judgment, but also prolonged and special study, no living scholar has a better right to be heard than Principal Brown. Fifty years ago he issued a volume on the Second Advent, which has ever since held its place as an authority. His present venture, therefore, into the region of Prophecy is not that of a novice. He himself rather fears it may exhibit some marks of the infirmity of advancing years, and modestly alludes in his preface to the fact that he is "nearly eighty-eight years of age." But beyond one or two misprints, such as are found in all books, and the ascription to Pliny of a province on the "north-eastern shore of the Black Sea," the volume is free from the blemishes which result from lack of careful revision. The age of the interpreter may only have brought him into more perfect sympathy with the author of the Apocalypse, which, according to Dr Brown, was not written before the last decade of the first century.

Dr Brown, dividing all interpretations of the Apocalypse into two great classes, those which proceed on the understanding that it is *descriptive* of the great principles which are exhibited in the history of Christianity, and those which accept it as *predictive* of the events of that history, takes his place frankly and without reserve among those who advocate the latter method of interpretation. Modern criticism does not favour the idea that events which were to take place in the sixteenth century were predicted in a writing which belongs to the first. And even in circles into which criticism has not penetrated, it has been felt to be unlikely that the history and downfall of the Papacy should occupy an Apostolic pen. But while Principal Brown undauntedly adopts and carries out the predictive idea, he does not offend by the over-precision in detail which has frequently made this method of interpretation ridiculous. Many readers will be reassured when they come upon his confession: "Precise dates I have no skill in, and it well befits a mere A B C to leave these alone." It is this practical wisdom which forms the chief attraction of the book. There is a skilful selection of salient points, and a lifting into prominence of the real landmarks, which are very helpful to the reader, who is apt to lose himself among the seals, and trumpets, and beasts. Indeed, as a guide to the interpretation of the Apocalypse accepted as a prediction of future events, Principal Brown's volume is most serviceable, and will materially assist the student of this difficult book. No doubt even those who accept his method will disapprove of some of his particular interpretations. That cannot be otherwise. At the same time, whether his method be approved or not, it will be cordially admitted that he has produced a sober, scholarly, instructive volume, which will rather add to his reputation as an exegete. The range of Dr Brown's studies is well exemplified both in the chapter which replies to Sir William Hamilton's careless statement about the Apocalypse, and in the note on one of "the impossible readings which the textual principle of Drs Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament necessitated."

MARCUS DODS.

The Lord's Supper; A Biblical Exposition of its Origin, Nature, and Use.

*By Rev. J. P. Lilley, M.A., Arbroath. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
1891. Cr. 8vo, pp. 330. Price 5s.*

THIS is a seasonable piece of work, well and thoroughly done. There was room and need for something between a hand-book on the Sacraments, or a guide for "young communicants" on the one

hand, and, on the other, the more elaborate, exegetical, and theological treatment of the subject which we find in works on "the Church," or on "the doctrine of the Sacraments" in English or German. What Mr Lilley has given us is a fresh and careful study of the Lord's Supper in the light of the Old Testament rites out of which it sprang, and of the New Testament accounts of its origin, purposes, and use in the Apostolic Church. The book gives evidence of very competent scholarship and knowledge of the literature of the subject in English, French, and German. But its author writes throughout as a pastor fresh from actual contact with the spiritual experiences of his people, and with the wants of the Church of the present day.

Three interesting chapters are given to a study of the Passover in Israel, our Lord's last Passover, and the merging of the Passover in the Lord's Supper. Mr Lilley does not refer to one suggestive aspect of the Passover, namely, that it was the first of the three great yearly "Moadim," or "trystes," of Jehovah, and therefore pre-eminently an ordinance of fellowship or "appointed meeting" between the Lord and His people. The force of the Hebrew words which group themselves round this thought is well brought out by Principal Douglas in one of his articles on the Revision of the Old Testament.¹

Our Lord's words in instituting the Supper evidently link the ordinance with another memorable transaction in the history of redemption, the Covenant at Sinai, with its ratification by sacrifice and the sprinkling of blood, and the sacred meal partaken of by the representatives of the people in the immediate presence of God at the foot of the Mount. Two chapters are devoted to this "Communion Day of the Old Covenant," and to the relation of the Lord's Supper to "the New Covenant" in Christ's blood. Mr Lilley then considers the Lord's Supper in the Apostolic Church, the real nature of the Sacrament, the relation of the elements to the blessings of which the ordinance is the channel, its specific purposes, the persons for whom it is intended, the qualifications needful for rightly partaking of it, the spirit in which it should be used, and the spirit to be maintained after Communion.

The somewhat difficult and delicate practical questions which arise in connection with several of these points are handled by Mr Lilley with much sound judgment and Christian tact. The fruits of practical ministerial experience are especially to be recognised in this part of his work; and there is an underlying glow of genuine devotional feeling which adds to the attractiveness of the book. The pressure of pastoral duties to which he refers in his Preface is sufficient excuse for a few slips in style, which are to be noted

¹ "Monthly Interpreter," x. pp. 254, 258.

occasionally, and for one sentence left in a state of hopeless confusion at p. 166.

In an Appendix Mr Lilley discusses the original records of the institution of the Lord's Supper, as given by the Synoptists and Paul; the relation of the Fourth Gospel to the Supper; its place in the New Testament as a whole; and the way in which the death of Christ is reflected in it. Under the last head we have a vigorous argument against the commonly received view that the breaking of the bread in the Lord's Supper represents the breaking of Christ's body on the Cross. Our author is disposed to regard that view as "a remnant of Rabbinism," and "a temptation to sacerdotalism." Our limits forbid criticism, except to say that while Mr Lilley is fairly entitled to lay stress on the omission by the Revisers of the words "broken for you," from 1 Cor. xi. 24, his argument against the usual view from the position it assigns to the minister of representing in symbolic action what took place upon the Cross is founded on a misconception. In the Communion service of the Presbyterian Church, the position assigned to the minister in this particular action is simply that of initiation. The bread is broken and the wine given by each communicant in turn.

D. D. BANNERMAN.

The Church in the Mirror of History: Studies on the Progress of Christianity.

By Dr Karl Sell, D.D., Ph.D., Darmstadt. Translated by Elizabeth Stirling. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Crown 8vo, pp. viii., 250. Price 3s. 6d.

DR SELL of Darmstadt is favourably known to most of our readers as the author of the Memoir of the late Princess Alice of Hesse-Darmstadt. He recently gave a short course of lectures under the auspices of the local branch of the "Gustavus Adolphus Ladies' Union." These lectures now appear in English as "The Church in the Mirror of History,"—a rather free rendering of Dr Sell's own title, "Aus der Geschichte Christenthums." The translator gives a very readable version of the original. The special aim of this little work is to lead "our cultured classes to interest themselves in the history of religious questions by discussing them in their general historical relations." This object, highly important in all countries, but especially so in Germany, it is well fitted to accomplish. Dr Sell has given us a series of brief but comprehensive studies of the historical growth and progress of Christianity from

its origin to our own times. The immense difficulties to be encountered in the selection and grouping of his materials have been on the whole successfully overcome. The subject is treated under the general headings of "Primitive Christianity," "The Early Catholic Church," "The Middle Ages," "The Reformation," "The Counter-Reformation," and "Christianity during the last century."

The chief movements of religious life and thought during these epochs are sketched and interpreted with care, insight, and sympathy. The work gives evidence throughout of wide reading, intellectual vigour, and a high spiritual tone. As regards recent criticism of the New Testament documents, Dr Sell's position is that the result has been to leave untouched the great facts regarding our Lord's Divine dignity, and the significance of His life, death, and resurrection which we find embodied in the four great epistles of Paul, and in the first two gospels, as representing the earliest Christian tradition.

The six lectures vary of course in freshness and interest. The best, in our judgment, are those on the Middle Ages and the Counter-Reformation. We may specially refer to the admirable sketch of St Bernard of Clairvaux, of the history and religious significance of the Franciscan movement, of the Gothic art of the Middle Ages, and of the development of Jesuitism.

On the other hand, our author's treatment of Pietism in Germany, and Methodism in England is somewhat disappointing. "Pietism made membership of the true Church to depend on the perfectly novel condition of inward piety, especially on the undergoing of pessimistic religious emotions." (p. 212). "In the estimation of Methodism a man has only so much religion as he carries ready for use in his hands or on his tongue." (p. 228).

German readers will not be disposed to criticise the patriotic assertions as to the eminence of Germany "as a Colonial power" in the Middle Ages, and that "the collective theologies of the Protestant countries can be comprehended from a German standpoint; but it requires no knowledge of foreign theology to understand that of Germany" (pp. 116, 241). Dr Sell wisely refrains from saying anything about the religion or theology of America "for lack of reliable information" (p. 227). A lack of such information appears to some extent in what he does say on the religious life and thought of Britain.

The book closes with a fine passage, breathing a justifiable hopefulness: "Christianity is marching onward towards the threshold of another century, not depressed and anxious and with muffled colours, as the Church crept over the frontiers of the last century, but openly and freely, with the banner of the Gospel unfurled,—the reconciliation of God with man, and of man with man."

D. D. BANNERMAN.

A Modern Apostle: The Life and Career of the Late Alexander N. Somerville, D.D. (1813-1889), in Scotland, Ireland, India, America, Africa, Australasia, and the Chief Countries of Europe.

By George Smith, LL.D., Author of the Life of William Carey, &c With Portrait and Map. London: John Murray. Post 8vo, pp. 423. Price 9s.

SUCH is the title given to the memoir of Dr Alexander N. Somerville, who was born in 1813 and died in 1889. Writing from Hungary a year before the termination of the career, Rabbi Lichtenstein suggested another title, "I long to see face to face that reverend patriarch who, like Father Abraham, goes from place to place to build altars and to proclaim the name of the Lord." The same Rabbi, after seeing "the reverend patriarch," declares, "I received from this remarkable, youthful, divinely enthusiastic old man, impressions for all my life, which every one must feel whose heart God has awakened."

Truly, A. N. Somerville was "a youthful, divinely enthusiastic old man." At sixty-four, an age when most men feel that they must retire from some of the more fatiguing activities of their calling, he was, at his own request, released from his pastorate that he might be free to go—as it was expressed in the call of the United Evangelistic Committee of Glasgow—"wherever the English language is spoken, unfettered as to where and when and how he should work." Before he left for his evangelistic tour in Australia, the venerable Dr Bonar said, in his own quaint way: "You sometimes remind me of Caleb. Like him, when very young, you gave a good testimony to the land of promise. But it was when Caleb was over eighty that he did his most wonderful exploits. I trust we shall hear from you of the falling of many a Kirjath-Arba in foreign lands."

A. N. Somerville set out for the Antipodes within a very few hours after he had been presented to the Vice-Chancellor of Glasgow University for the degree of Doctor in Divinity, as the "old Divine whose mild spiritual features and flowing white hair realise one's ideal portrait of a missionary for the world." In eighteen months from that day he voyaged or travelled upwards of 34,000 miles, visiting the several portions of the British Empire that lie under the Southern Cross. Within twelve years he made twelve missionary circuits ranging over the habitable world, preaching and teaching, developing in a marvellous way the possibilities of interpretation, in perils by land and perils by sea, sometimes suffering from pain, but never faltering in his resolution, always bright and buoyant, gentle but firm. Nothing daunted him; and there was such wisdom,

prudence, hopefulness in his energy, that difficulties which seemed to others unsurmountable yielded.

This patriarchal apostle had been for nearly forty years the minister of large congregations in the busy capital of the west of Scotland, and had taken a prominent part in many kinds of philanthropic work. His name is so associated with evangelistic enterprise that, as proving many-sidedness of view, it is interesting to recall that, among other labours, he was an ardent sanitary reformer. His biographer merely alludes to a movement, in regard to which fuller information is to be desired, for the improvement of the dwellings of the poor, at a time when an outbreak of Asiatic cholera was dreaded. Dr Somerville was at the head of this movement, and threw his usual force and sagacity into it. Notwithstanding his many duties, he never parted from the refinements of scholarship. His reading was always abreast of the day; and, although firmly orthodox in his opinions, he possessed the tolerance and charity which a widely-travelling culture imparts. These features became more prominent with the advance of years. In the year of his moderatorship he writes, "Perhaps old people are too exclusive, and do not consider the feelings of young people sufficiently." He did: he was one of those "who can bid the new generation God-speed along paths untrodden by them but seen afar off by faith." One of the last acts of his life was a touching illustration of the mellowed catholicity of his old age. He left the Established Church in 1843. We are told that on the Sunday when he marched out of Anderston Church with his Bible under his arm, "he had not a sixpence either in his house or in the bank." To the end he was a loyal Free Churchman, but in 1889 he accepted the invitation of the Jewish Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland to address the General Assembly in connection with the jubilee year of that Mission. His reception by the Assembly was enthusiastic beyond description, and so deeply moved was the radiant old man that for two or three minutes he could not speak. "At last," writes an eye-witness, "he got under weigh. It was a magnanimous appearance, and it was crowned by the magnanimous gift of a hundred guineas from Dr Somerville's family to the Jewish Mission of the Church."

Thus, full of years and honours, living in God's light, and in the love of a great multitude in many lands, A. N. Somerville waited for the coming of his Lord. And the end was peace. The story of his character and his toil is well told by Dr George Smith. The best tribute which can be paid to it is that the person to whom it introduces us is always thrown into such broad relief that, following the narrative, we forget to be critical. We feel the charm of the "youthful, divinely-enthusiastic old man;" and in this day of halting faiths, it is good to be taken into the fellowship of one who knew whom he

trusted, and whose trust was the spring of all his vitality. The words he addressed to some young men in the last year of his life remind us of the conviction which had inspired his own indomitable courage, "With the Bible in your heart, in your hand, and in your life, no power in earth or hell shall be able to withstand you."

JOHN MARSHALL LANG.

Locke.

By Alexander Campbell Fraser, D.C.L. Edinburgh and London :
William Blackwood & Sons. Cr. 8vo. Pp. viii., 299. 3s. 6d.

STUDENTS of philosophy have for some years looked for an edition of Locke from the competent hand of the editor of Berkeley. Professor Fraser informs us that even for the preparation of a critical edition of the essay his "day is too far spent." We must now be content with this admirable little volume in the series of *Philosophical Classics for English Readers*. There is nothing better as an introduction to the study of the philosophy of the great English philosopher. By his skilful selection of biographical details, Professor Fraser has set forth the intellectual and social *milieu* in which Locke's philosophical work was done. Not the least valuable part of his criticism of Locke consists in the emphasis which is laid upon the circumstances in which the essay was written, and the practical aim it was meant to subserve. That part of Professor Fraser's task has been well done; and it was worth doing carefully, for it puts the student at the proper viewpoint for appreciating the drift of Locke's philosophy. Interpretation through a careful account of the genesis of the philosophy is in Locke's case a kind of criticism which is specially needed.

On the vexed question of Locke's relation to phenomenalism and idealism Professor Fraser pursues a wise course. He shows that the question in debate between phenomenologists and idealists was not really before Locke. What Locke does say on the subject is *obiter dictum*, or rather *obiter dicta*, for his utterances point sometimes in one direction, and sometimes in another. Professor Fraser allows that Mr Webb

has some little ground for claiming Locke as an intellectualist, and that English and French phenomenologists have a good deal more ground for reckoning him their philosophical master. But he is content to signalise the elements in the Lockian philosophy which make for the one side and for the other.

Professor Fraser is careful to note Locke's relation to the theological and ecclesiastical movements of his age. A latitudinarian with a bias towards Deism, he held opinions which have long since ceased to be reckoned "notes" of a Broad Churchman. "The end of civil society is the preservation of the society . . . in a free and peaceable enjoyment of all the good things of this life, &c. The end of religious society is the attaining happiness after this life in another world." It is interesting to find the "other-worldly" theory of religion fathered by one whom Positivists delight to honour. It is interesting also to find that the now widely discarded attempt to prove the truth of the doctrine of revelation by miraculous physical signs found favour with Locke. Several other indications might be given that in spite of his "latitudinarianism" our philosopher was the child of his age in his attitude towards religion and theology. For example, powerful and successful pleader for toleration though he was, he refused to tolerate those who deny the being of God.

Professor Fraser exaggerates, perhaps, Locke's influence on subsequent theological thought. His philosophical method must have helped to rid theology of "idealess words and unreasoned assumptions," but one can find little trace of direct fruitful influence in the stating or answering of theological questions. A student of Calvin's commentaries would be slow to admit the place assigned to Locke by his critic in the historical criticism of the Bible. Locke's tendency towards deistical externalism ill suited him for revivifying theology. He may have contributed towards the downfall of scholasticism in theology, but a philosophy which had little light to shed upon personality and the "supernatural" by which man is linked to God and the spiritual world, could not possibly wield an influence over theology like that of Kant or Hegel. It was too much out of touch with the sphere occupied by theology.

D. M. Ross.

Life of Arthur Schopenhauer.

*By W. Wallace, Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy, Oxford.
London, Walter Scott. Pp. 217.-ix. Price 1s., or Library
Edition, demy 8vo, 2s. 6d.*

IN 1876 Miss Helen Zimmern wrote an admirable book on *Arthur Schopenhauer, his Life and his Philosophy*,—a book full of insight into speculative problems, and a real contribution to philosophical biography. Since then the English literature devoted to Schopenhauer and his school has increased largely. We have even a Schopenhauer "Series" in the press. But no contribution to our knowledge of the man and his system—whether English, German, French, or American—is better than the work which Professor William Wallace of Oxford has lately written for the "Great Writers" series. While strictly philosophical, it has the fascination of a romance. It lights up the perennial problems it discusses with several "modern touches here and there," and gives an imaginative setting to the abstruse questions of metaphysics. It is a critical study, in which biographic detail helps our understanding of that System of the Universe and of human Life which Schopenhauer taught. In addition to these features there are some admirable passages in which sidelight is cast on such questions as Romanticism.

Unlike the majority of German system-builders, Schopenhauer was not by profession a philosophical teacher, and he rather despised his countrymen who were the official representatives of speculative study at the Universities. His education had been desultory and unsystematic; and he was himself a dilettante as well as a philosopher. He did not adequately appreciate either the purely speculative, or the historical method of treating philosophical subjects. This kept him for many years unrecognised,—“a voice crying in the wilderness.” His ultimate success, however, was largely due to his having shaken himself free from the trammels of traditional philosophizing, and to his speaking to his age, not in the technical dialect of the schools, but in the vernacular language of common life and experience.

He was of Dutch extraction, and was born at Dantzic in the year 1788. When he was five years of age his parents left Dantzic and removed to Hamburg; and before he began his regular education he was taken by his merchant father over part of Europe. He was at school in Paris for two years; and afterwards in England for some months; again in France, Switzerland, and Austria. This gave him an early knowledge both of foreign languages, and of the-ways of the world. His father wished him to enter on a business career, and he began work in an office, which he pursued even for two years after his father died. But his mother, a rather brilliant woman of

society, having gone with her only daughter to Weimar—where she used to receive Goethe, and others, in her *salon*—young Schopenhauer, nineteen years old, entered the gymnasium of Gotha, whence he passed afterwards to Weimar. At both places his initiation into Greek culture was thorough. The chasm in sympathy between himself and his mother—which was organic, and deep-seated—gradually widened. At the age of twenty-one he entered the University of Göttingen, enrolling himself as a student of medicine! For the first year of his college life he studied physical science for the most part. In his second year he took to philosophy, Schultze being his teacher. Schultze was an opponent of the Kantian "Criticism," but he advised his students to confine themselves at the commencement of their studies to Plato and Kant; and these were the authors that most influenced Schopenhauer. In 1811 he went to Berlin, heard Fichte and Schleiermacher lecture, and studied the Classics, and some of the Sciences. It was to the University of Jena, however, that he sent his graduation thesis, *Ueber die vierfache Wurzel des Satzes vom zureichenden Grunde* (the fourfold root of the principle of sufficient reason). In this essay he tried to show that Causality had four separate roots. There was not much that was new in it; although, like Hume, in his juvenile work, he partly anticipated the completer doctrine of his *magnum opus*.

That all phenomena are inter-related, and that everything that happens must have a sufficient reason for its happening, is no very great discovery. But Schopenhauer thought he had made a new analysis by splitting up the reasons of occurrence, into the four following particulars, viz., the *causa fiendi*, or the ground of change; the *causa cognoscendi*, or the ground of knowledge; the *causa essendi*, or the ground of being; and the *causa agendi*, or the ground of action and volition. He carried these distinctions far too far. Artificial to begin with, he exaggerated their importance in many ways. His doctrine was the supersubtile graft of a somewhat belated scholasticism upon the doctrine of Kant. It is hard to say in what the *ratio fiendi*, *cognoscendi*, *essendi*, and *agendi*, improve upon the formal, material, efficient, and final causes of the post-Aristotelian philosophy. That it is by some *ratio fiendi* that any object arises, is a mere restatement of the problem to be solved. If we grant that all things are ruled by the law of causality, Schopenhauer thought that we give the *coup de grace* to theology of every kind. This is, however, only one of the *petitiones principii* which are to be found in the "Fourfold Root."

From his twenty-sixth to his thirtieth year, Schopenhauer lived at Dresden, and there it was that his distinctive system took shape. He slowly elaborated his philosophy, and it was a coherent organic growth. He led a somewhat lonely and eccentric life. So absent-

minded was he that, in his solitary wanderings, and soliloquizings, in the neighbourhood of Dresden, he was often taken for an escaped lunatic. A delightful story is recorded of him, that the keeper of a conservatory, in which he had been walking and gesticulating freely, even speaking to the plants and trees, as he meditated on the universal life of the world,—went up to him and asked him who he was, "Fellow-creature," he replied, "if *you* could tell me who I am, I should be very greatly indebted to you!" Of course the attendant was only confirmed in his opinion of the lunacy of the stranger.

Schopenhauer wished to be thought the historical successor of Kant, in the direct lineage of philosophical inheritance; but he did not merely develop the teaching of the *Kritiken*. He brought many foreign elements into German philosophy, particularly the teaching of the later Indian metaphysics, of the Upanishads, and of Buddha. Perhaps the chief intellectual service which he did to European philosophy was his sympathetic outlook to the East, and his grafting Oriental modes of thought on our Western ideas. The final outcome of this alliance, however, was a return to the monistic solution of the problem of Being, with sundry accessories superadded in an altogether irrelevant fashion. He imbibed the spirit of Buddha, and the philosophic doctrine of Erigena, Bruno, and Spinoza; but he developed their monism along a line of his own.

During these four years at Dresden, he began to imagine that all human effort was illusion, and that our supposed successes in attaining the end of our desires, were the very beginnings of failure. He pondered over that radical passion of human nature which unites the sexes, and regarding it as illusory, drifted into an asceticism which was more marked than that of Antisthenes, or of Zeno, of St Simon Stylites, or the Indian Yogi. But the root of his asceticism was his doctrine of the Will, as unfolded in his chief work, *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*. The ultimate essence of things, the radical underlying *Ding-an-sich*, was not a principle of intelligence,—like the *νοῦς* of Anaxagoras, or the *νῦναις νοήσας* of Aristotle—but a universal *Will*. The precise nature of this Will, Schopenhauer never explained in any of his writings. But he held that in all Nature there was a blind *nisus*, or effort at self-realisation, and that in Man, where intellect emerged, this blind effort realised itself and became conscious. Thus will and intellect were the two radical elements in Human Nature. Intellectual discernment, however, leads us but a short way to a knowledge of things. Art conducts us much further, because genius can divine secrets, where talent merely sorts and arranges facts. All that the intellect can possibly disclose to us is the fact that the world exists in space and time, subject to the laws of phenomena. It is to us a presentation (*Vorstellung*). But we

are also conscious of the power of will, and in this we find the supreme truth, and the ultimate fact of the universe. The old doctrine of Parmenides, the *ἴν καὶ αἶν*, becomes luminous in the self-conscious life of the individual. But, apart from this creative will, the individual has no real existence. His states of consciousness are merely forms of illusion.

To return to the comparatively uneventful career of the philosopher's life. Having sent the MS. of his book *Die Welt als Wille, &c.*, to a publisher, Schopenhauer started for Italy, and spent some time at Venice, Rome, and Naples, where he studied Art and Italian Literature. The failure of the Dantzic firm, in which his patrimony was invested, summoned him back to Germany; when he managed to get a fairly good arrangement made with the bankrupt house. He then thought of University lecturing as a *Privat-docent*, as his Book had fallen "still-born from the press," even more truly than Hume's *Treatise* did. He actually began to lecture at Berlin in 1820; but, with all his ability, as a thinker and a talker, he failed as a lecturer. He again left Germany, and went to Switzerland and Italy; but returned to Berlin in 1825. The various steps of his subsequent career have no special interest. In 1833 he settled in Frankfort for the rest of his life. As age advanced, he fancied he had attained to greater cheerfulness, but his antagonism and his egoism grew more marked. It was perhaps natural that one who was conscious of power, but who remained unrecognised and unpopular, should feel to a certain extent embittered. But when his later and more desultory work, the *Parerga und Paralipomena* (Chips and Scraps) appeared, and he became recognised in the literary world, his vanity rose with the turn of the tide. He was as eager as a child to know the terms of each critical estimate of his book in the Reviews as they appeared; and would have doubtless been one of the first subscribers to those terrible modern agencies, which offer to send an author, for an annual fee, clippings from all the newspapers of the world that notice his books.

To the end he remained a lonely man. His views of woman were pessimistic to the last degree. He considered her as essentially inferior to man, intended by Nature simply to continue the species, incapable of high culture or of justice. She had, by the alien influence of our Western Christianity, assumed a function, and stepped into a position that were detrimental to the race. He cared far more for his dog, Atma, than for any woman he ever met. What led to his recognition and appreciation by his contemporaries is curious. A philosophical Ishmaelite from first to last, he indulged in bitter tirades against Fichte, Schultze, and Hegel (particularly the latter); and these, along with his senseless attacks on the paid teachers of philosophy, at length brought him into notice, and led a public,—

who would not read his *Die Welt als Wille, &c.*—to attend to him because of the piquancy of his attacks on his great contemporaries. He became for the time more popular than the academic teachers were, and in certain quarters he continued to be so.

Returning to his chief book, and to the root of his system, Schopenhauer represented the underlying principle of the Universe at large as a stupendous Will, which operated blindly, and yet incessantly realised itself. He subordinated Mind, or Reason, to Feeling and Volition ; but he never cleared up the distinction between them. He speaks in the very vaguest fashion of the realm over which Will presides. Desire, and will, feeling, emotion, impulse, appetite, are all placed over against intellect as belonging to a superior category ; but they are unphilosophically slumped together. In the consciousness of will we enter into a realm "where time and space are not." "We *feel* that we are greater than we *know*." Mind cannot cross the threshold from the sphere of phenomena to substance. The "meddling intellect" rather separates us from reality, and prevents our contact with it. But when the intellect is quiescent, the feelings and the will go forth together to apprehend reality, we escape from the limitations of time and space, of succession and change, of cause and effect. We get to the centre of things, and we find that centre everywhere. Schopenhauer maintained that what we thus discover, in the root of our own personality, is, at the same time, the Essence of the world, or the radical principle of the Universe. So far he seems to be the advocate of a spiritual philosophy as against the ἀνάγκη, and the atomism of the materialists ; and his interpretation of Will as a power above Nature, outside the chain of necessity,—as not only a metaphysical essence, but a quasi-supernatural force,—seems to open up the way, both for a theistic interpretation of Nature, and for the possibility of miracle, as a supra-material energy working within the cosmos. This, however, is again negatived by his monistic view of things. We, with our wills above Nature, are still a part of the larger Nature that brought us here. The *natura naturata* emanates from the *natura naturans*, and our very consciousness of freedom is at best illusive.

Schopenhauer's sharply-drawn antithesis between the will and the intellect is faultily abrupt, and radically erroneous. In every energy of the will, there is an intellectual element present ; and it might be as plausibly maintained that it is the will that differentiates, and the intellect that unites ; as that mind is the principle of difference, and the will that of union.

The inconsistencies at the root of Schopenhauer's psychology and metaphysic, however, are not so serious as is the outcome of his ethical theory. His monism curiously enough prepared the way for a doctrine, not of egoism, but of altruism of a lofty order. The self,

for which the individual has to live, and which he is bound to cherish, is his *alter ego* in humanity. The ethics of Schopenhauer, however, like that of every monistic system, rashly aim at the abolition of the controversy between egoist and altruist, not by ending it in a higher harmony which conserves the truth of both, but by destroying each as an irrelevancy. It dries up the very springs of moral action by affirming that the life, after which the energy of the will strives, is at its heart a delusion. "Vanity, and vexation of spirit," is the outcome of all the toilsome *ivépyia* of the will, and the result is *ennui* and despair. If one yields himself up to the wish to live and to enjoy, it is contemptible egoism. It could only be rational, if the world, as it is, were good. But the world, as it is, is radically bad. Not optimism, but pessimism is the true theory of existence; and it is only by the cessation of desire, and the ending of individual life, that rest can be obtained. Such is the moral contradiction in which the ethics of Schopenhauer land us.

As in the case of many other great men, we are interested in Schopenhauer's system apart from the man, and in the thinker apart from his thought. The *man*, Arthur Schopenhauer, was a repellant egoist, self-centered, querulous, irritable, vain. The *thinker*, Schopenhauer, was a fertile-minded, and really original plummet-sounder. The *man* was a supercilious critic of his predecessors, who gloried in the avowal that, "than all his teachers now he had, more understanding far." The philosopher, on the other hand, was a sagacious, suggestive, clear, and penetrating thinker. It is true that he vainly fancied that he had solved the sphinx riddle of the world; and so conceited was he over his discovery that he proposed to have an image of the sphinx throwing herself into the abyss, carved on his signet-ring! while he had the hardihood to affirm that certain passages in the *Die Welt, &c.*, had been expressly dictated to him by the Holy Ghost! But with faults of argument, and faults of style, with their vague assumptions, their inconclusive reasoning, and their frequent paradox, his works have proved an immense stimulus to the philosophical thought of subsequent generations. He added nothing of importance to modern philosophy, but he defined one of its root problems in a significant manner. His character and his system together are in a sense monumental; and his restatement of certain questions that are as old as the dawn of speculation, must be reckoned with in every subsequent attempt to solve these problems in a healthier and more constructive fashion. It may safely be said that few, if any, of the books that have dealt with him are more suggestive than that of Mr Wallace.

WILLIAM KNIGHT.

Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.

1891. *Erstes Heft.*

IN this number there are six articles, of which the first (by C. Holsten) takes up two-thirds of the whole space. It is a valuable discussion of the significance of the expression $\acute{o} \nu\iota\acute{o}s \tau\omicron\upsilon \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\upsilon$ in the consciousness of Jesus. A review of previous inquiries serves only to emphasise the uncertainty of their answers to such questions as: Did the phrase express Jesus' idea of His nature, or merely of His vocation? Was the title meant to conceal or to reveal His Messiahship? Was it used during the Galilean ministry, or first at its conclusion?

I. Holsten first deals with the *facts*—the data in the Synoptics. After enumerating all the places where the expression occurs, he concludes (in opposition to Baldensperger and others), that "in the words Mt. 9/6 = Mk. 2/10 = Lk. 5/24, and Mt. 12/8 = Mk. 2/28 = Lk. 6/5, also Mt. 11/19 = Lk. 7/34 and Mt. 8/20, 12/32, lie decisive proofs that Jesus already, before the scene at Cæsarea Philippi, described Himself to the disciples and to the people with the title Son of Man." In his elucidation of the facts Holsten is strictly expository. Of special significance is the scene at Cæsarea Philippi. Before this, Jesus had gained a certainty of His Messiahship, and had expressed this to *Himself* by the title "Son of Man." But as yet neither disciples nor people understood the title in a Messianic sense. Certain results follow: (1) in the consciousness of Jesus this title was of equal significance with "the Christ, the Son of the living God;" (2) Jesus expected that it was *possible* for the people to draw the conclusion from His self-description to His Messiahship; (3) Jesus had not hitherto revealed the significance of this self-description to any one. A further conclusion from the facts is that Jesus always used this title as the expression of His Messianic consciousness, and also that the Messiah (like the Messianic Kingdom) was to go through two forms of existence—one on Earth, of external lowliness, another in Heaven, of external glory; in both, there is an inner glory which is not revealed till the manifestation of the kingdom in power.

II. The *Explanation* of the Facts. There is (1) the "sprachliche Deutung," from which we learn that the decisive word is $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$, $\nu\iota\acute{o}s$ merely expressing a formal relation, and that the expression indicates an individual who as son of a man bears in himself the natural characteristics which distinguish a man from all other natures. Outside the Synoptics the expression describes man in his humanity as opposed to God. Then follows (2) the "grammatisch logische Deutung," where the double article is the important

point. Before the second word, this expresses the generic distinction, and Jesus, in using the title, must therefore have had the definite consciousness that He was begotten of a man,—which excludes the miraculous conception! As to the significance of the article before *υἱός*, the various views are fully considered, Holsten himself deciding for that which refers it to the Son of Man in Daniel 7/13,14. If Jesus had won the certainty of His Messiahship during His Galilean period, and found in this title an expression for it then the double article is explained. For it is one of the human race who speaks, hence the precision of *ἀνθρώπος*. And it is an individual stamped by the Scripture and by prophecy. But had Jesus the consciousness which this interpretation needs? That is the question decided by (3) the “*religiöse Deutung*,” which is specially important. Only a representation of the development of the Messianic consciousness in Jesus can show why He embodied His certainty of Messiahship in the expression “Son of Man” as a determined form. This certainty (admitted by all) arose out of his assured experience that God had given to Him, the man in distinction from all other men, the Divine Spirit. Hence the conviction that God had chosen Him to work out a special saving mission, not as Prophet but as the Messiah Himself. This was determined first *negatively*. He broke with the Davidic *Kingdom*-ideal. He expected the kingdom as the result of a divine act, and confined Himself to preparing for this by the preaching of the kingdom and by works of healing. Hence also a breach with the Davidic *Messiah*-ideal. But with this negative determination was bound naturally another, the rejection of all those attributes which the Jews expected in their Messiah. Hence the conviction that kingdom and Messiah alike had to go through a double form of existence: (1) *before* the complete coming of the kingdom the Messiah was without the high Messianic attributes; (2) *at* the consummation He would be revealed in glory to all peoples. But the question arose for Jesus: was this picture (so different from the national one of the old prophecy) the true one, willed by God? Jesus needed two things,—a *form*, a name to express His Messianic certainty, and a *foundation* for this in Scripture. Both He found in the Daniel prophecy. But how could Jesus refer all that is found there to Himself? The explanation lies in a proper interpretation of Daniel, who does not draw a transcendent heavenly figure, but an earth-born son of man riding *from earth to heaven* on the clouds. Now, as soon as Jesus grasped this Coming Figure as a personality and not a personification the transference of the title to Himself was easy. But Daniel only supplied Jesus with the *form* for His consciousness. This was filled up by His own experience, and through this experience (of a suffer-

ing, teaching, dying Messiah), He "first made the visionary scheme of Daniel into a living Messianic personality." The reader must be referred to the article for a long series of important conclusions which Holsten draws from these results. The last refers to the relation of the titles "Son of Man" and "Son of God." The latter is the presupposition of the former—"I am Son of God and this in the form Son of Man." In his concluding pages Holsten considers the question: this being so with the *synoptic* Jesus, can we attribute the same to the *historical* Jesus? In point of content he gives an affirmative answer, with one exception. Jesus was conscious of the divine necessity of His sufferings, of His resurrection and elevation to come, but He cannot have represented Himself as Judge of the world. As to the *form* these facts take in the Synoptics, an opposite conclusion is come to. Jesus could not have asserted the saving significance of His death before the Supper, or the certainty of His death and resurrection before the Jerusalem days. How difficult it was even then "is shown by the fact that there was a Gethsemane after the Supper." The general conclusion of the article is that the significance which this expression has in the synoptic Jesus it had also in the consciousness of the historical Jesus.

There is no space to notice the other articles. They are: "Paul Ewald's Solution of the Gospels-Problem," by Hilgenfeld; "On the Date of Polycarp's Death," by E. Egli; "The Origin of the Philistines," by F. Schwally; "Paralipomena Christiana," by J. Dräseke; and another, by Hilgenfeld.

FREDERICK J. RAE.

Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie.

Jahrgang XVII. Heft ii.

IN this number Seydel continues his exposition and criticism of Krafton's teaching as to "knowledge and faith." Religious faith Krafton defines as "faith in the salvation-good, the perfect eternal life, the pure ideal of life, the kingdom of God." This *summum bonum* is supernatural, for everything originating in the world is relative and conditioned. The subject of this ideal lies not in the individual man as such, but in the relationship between individuals as members of a whole. The incoming of this conception is revelation. Seydel's chief criticisms on this section of Krafton's work are that he fails to distinguish clearly between natural and supernatural, and to find a due place in his ethics for pleasures of sense, for beauty

and knowledge. But for an external revelation in history, Krafon proceeds, the moral ideal of the kingdom of God would have been both illusory and unreasonable. Seydel, on the contrary, insists on the sufficiency of an inward revelation both for certainty and reasonableness, and asserts that Krafon himself virtually admits the independence of the inner revelation in that he both starts from it towards Christ and uses it as the final test of Christianity. Krafon next insists on the need for an objective revelation to effect the reconciliation of man to God and the purification of man's conscience. His critic, however, thinks that if the inner revelation of the ideal is a gift of divine love, that love is therein already forgiving, while, on man's part, the willingness to realise the ideal is enough. Seydel's own account of faith is that it is a belief born of the "life-feeling" (*Lebensgefühl*) which convinces us that the highest realisation of self lies in working for the moral good of all. One might ask Seydel if the historical revelation in Christ has not really been the chief factor in the genesis of this "life-feeling."

Johannes Hillmann has a long article on *The History according to Luke of Jesus' Childhood*. He endeavours to show that chap. i., with the exception of the first four verses, is a piece by itself, written in the main by some Christian Jew. In this piece, moreover, are interpolations, *e.g.*, Mary's song and Zachariah's. The Magnificat is built up out of the Old Testament, contains no specifically Christian thought, and is therefore by a Jew. The Benedictus, which is purely Jewish, shows traces of "over-working" by a Christian hand. Verses 31-33 and 34, 35 suggest two accounts by different authors. Hillmann next seeks to show that the idea of a supernatural birth is foreign to Jewish imagination. In an addendum the writer attributes to St Matthew's account an origin similar to that of St Luke's narrative.

M. Ginsburger contributes an article on *The Anthropomorphisms in the Targums*. The origin of these is the shrinking of the human mind from coming into too immediate contact with God, and the consequent desire to conceive Him by means of secondary manifestations. The terms treated are (a) *יְיָ בִּרְאָה*, *יְיָ מִימְרָה*; (b) *יְיָ קִרְא*, *שְׂכִינְתָּה*, *יְיָ קִרְא*; (c) *שְׂמָה*, *קִרְא*.

F. Görres concludes his articles on Church and State from Diocletian to Constantine, and deals with Diocletian's four edicts anent Christianity, the sufferance of it in the West, and the persecution of its adherents in the East, from 305 to 311 A.D., the edicts of tolerance and complete victory of the new religion (311-313), the Licinian persecution and Constantine's policy (316-324).

R. M. ADAMSON.

International Journal of Ethics, devoted to the Advancement of Ethical Knowledge and Practice.

NOS. I. AND II.

Issued Quarterly. Editorial Committee:—Stanton Coit, Ph.D., London; J. S. Mackenzie, M.A., Manchester; J. H. Muirhead, M.A., London; Felix Adler, Ph.D., New York; Josiah Royce, Ph.D., Harvard University; Fr. Jodl, Ph.D., Prague; G. Von Gizycki, Ph.D., Berlin. London: T. Fisher Unwin. Philadelphia: International Journal of Ethics, 1602 Chestnut Street. Price per number, 2s. 6d., or 10s. per annum.

THE *Ethical Record*, announced last summer by circular, appeared for the first time (October 1890) under the above altered title. The aim of the journal, as the editors explain, is—(1.) "To promote the study of ethics, and of other sciences, in so far as they bear directly upon conduct." (2.) "To discuss special moral problems suggested by the growing complexity of modern life." (3.) "To provide a medium for the criticism of art, literature, and politics, from the point of view of their effect upon national and individual character." (4.) "To provide information concerning practical work of an educative and moralising kind, which is conducted on a non-dogmatic basis." The title-page gives a list of the principal names (34) of pledged contributors. Of these Great Britain gives 12 (14 if Professor Giddings, Bryn Mawr, Pa; and Professor Pander, Pekin, are to be included?), Germany comes next with 10, America follows with 8, Denmark contributes Professor Höfding of Copenhagen, and Japan, Ryunosuke Fujishima of Saikin. It seems a pity that France and Italy (not to speak of Russia) should be left out in the cold. Yet, on the whole, Englishmen, Americans, and Germans will probably agree with the apparent assumption of the editors that they (or at any rate the "remnant" of them) represent—if the phrase is permissible—the *elect conscience* of the world. It may be hoped that other nations will have the good sense to agree with this verdict, and that the new journal will be *international* in its circulation, if it does not become more so than the programme promises in its authorship.

Such names as those of Professors E. Caird, Sidgwick, Ward, Pfeiderer, Höfding (whose article in the subjoined *Contents* of the *First Number* is, for solidity, *facile princeps* in a very bright list), Josiah Royce, show that the editors have known where to look for the best. A journal backed by such names (and others of almost equal repute—let us, in particular, wish well to the juniors: Profes-

sors Adamson, Manchester; Jones, Bangor; J. S. Mackenzie, Manchester; Paulsen, Berlin) is not likely to contain much that shall not be profound in thinking and ripe in scholarship. Drs Stanton Coit and Felix Adler, and Mr Bernard Bosanquet will see to it that the *paranetic*—one might almost say, with an apology in particular to Mr Bosanquet, the *preaching*—element shall not be wanting. Only, as Dr Adler and Mr Bosanquet tell us in their articles most emphatically, the preaching will be non-dogmatic in the technico-theological sense. This is well, surely; not even the Hebrew prophets (shall we say?) were dogmatic in that sense, and it is perhaps not altogether a bad “sign of the time” that no wise man now-a-days need bid for the popular ear who will not speak as from the revealed counsel of the Eternal. There will, therefore, it needs to be added, be no lack of the higher dogmatism. Mr W. M. Salter (see below) dares in a soberly-entitled article to sing a *psalm* on *Transcendentalism*, while the less fervid preachers speak of the “self-sufficiency of the good life” (or *sic alias*). In fine, if we can still share the inspired enthusiasm that led Moses to say: “Would God that *all* the Lord’s people were *prophets*,” or join—in a slightly extended sense—in the regretful acknowledgment of St Paul: “Howbeit there is not in *every* man that *knowledge*,” what can we say to this new *ethical* venture of modern catholicism but, very respectfully and thankfully: *Prosit!*

On the whole, the second number seems a considerable improvement on the first. The articles have more stuff in them without being heavier. In addition to those already mentioned, Professor Royce gives an interesting analysis of Professor William James’s new two-volume work on Psychology. It may interest the theological reader to know that this, the newest development of English (*pace* Dr Abbot) psychology, declares for the freedom of the will, like Kant, on ethical grounds. Professor Devoy crosses foils with some of the writers in No. 1, in a light and suggestive article on “Moral Theory and Practice.” Other articles are, “The Ethics of Doubt,” by W. L. Sheldon; “The Ethics of Socialism,” by Professor Siddings, in connection with Steinthal’s new book on “The Social Utopia and Paulsen’s on Socialism and Social Reform;” “Ethical and kindred Societies in Great Britain,” in which an account is given by Mrs M’Callum of the London Ethical Society, founded 1886, under whose auspices Sunday Lectures are given at Essex Hall, Strand, of The Edinburgh Ethical Club, The Cambridge Ethical Society, and similar institutions. The No. closes with reviews of “Die Ethik d. Griechen,” “Essays on Educational Reformers,” “The Strike of Millionaires against Miners,” by Thomas Davidson, J. G. Mackenzie, and Professor E. J. James, respectively.

LEWIS A. MUIRHEAD.

Notices.

THIS Commentary¹ is constructed on the same plan as the author's well-known volume on the *Epistle to the Romans*. It is in Dr Vaughan's best style. It limits itself for the most part to the criticism, illustration, and history of words and phrases, its object being to "catch the plain sense, and to trace the developing thought of each clause and sentence and paragraph." This is a kind of work in which English scholars have excelled. The severe, though narrow, type of Greek scholarship which used to prevail in the great schools and universities of the South, created a predilection for curious researches into the natural history of words, and furnished our English interpreters with a cunning hand for verbal and grammatical niceties. That is an art which becomes dangerous when applied to the exposition of the Scriptures, unless it is balanced by the historical sense. It is not the highest type of exegesis, nor the most fruitful. It is but the preparation for another which embraces larger and more varied elements. But it has its own place, and when kept in reasonable limits is capable of contributing materially to the understanding of any piece of ancient literature. Dr Vaughan pursues this method of exegesis with success, because he pursues it with modesty and caution. He says something to purpose on many of the more distinctive or remarkable terms, *χαρὰν* (i. 3), *ὑπόστασις* (i. 3), *ἀρχηγόν* (ii. 10). In some cases of doubtful rendering, where we specially look for a decision, we fail to find it. In the very important passage in ii. 10, for example, we get a just statement of the *data* of exegesis, but miss Dr Vaughan's own conclusion. In a few instances he passes beyond the expressed purpose of his exposition and the real scope of exegesis, as when he diverges into a statement on *confirmation* as the "continuation or the imitation" of the *ἐκθέσις* or *χρίσιν* in vi. 2. But the notes are, for the most part, of the better order. Among many, we may refer to those on xii. 17, which explain shortly the selection of the

¹ The *Epistle to the Hebrews, with Notes*. By C. J. Vaughan, D.D., Dean of Llandaff and Master of the Temple, &c. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xix., 340. Price 7s. 6d.

terms ἀποδοκιμάσθη and μετανόιας (instead of the μεταμελείας which would seem more appropriate to Esau's case), and bring the sense to this—*When he fain would have inherited the blessing, he was rejected (for he found no room for repentance to operate in undoing his old misdeed) though he sought the blessing earnestly with tears.* As regards the authorship of the Epistle, Dr Vaughan feels the force of the argument drawn from the numerous resemblances to Pauline phraseology and thought, but echoes, nevertheless, "the voice of Clement and Origen in declaring that, however Pauline, the Epistle as we possess it, is not St Paul's." So far as he indicates any leaning, it is in favour of Barnabas as author rather than either Apollos or Luke. Further, he takes the Epistle to have been written from Italy, and to have been addressed to the Church of Jerusalem. An appendix contains more elaborate notes on a few passages. The first of these deals with the question of Inspiration, and attempts to find a *via media* between the theory of verbal inspiration and the theory that practically eliminates the divine element from Scripture.

Another book¹ of an expository character comes from the hand of the Master of the Temple. The three small collections of Lectures on the book of Acts, which were published in 1864-65 under the titles of *The Church of Jerusalem, The Church of the Gentiles, The Church of the World*, were widely welcomed, and have run into several editions. They are now issued in a single volume with little alteration of the text, except that the readings and renderings of the passages under consideration have been brought, as far as possible, into harmony with the Revised Version. They are not elaborate scientific commentaries, but pulpit lectures. They are models of what these ought to be. They promote the great ends of edification by making the hearer or reader himself a student of the Word, and by helping him to follow with intelligence the purpose and tenor of the book as a whole. The volume will be especially useful to preachers, but not to them only.

¹ *The Church of the First Days: Lectures on the Acts of the Apostles.* By C. J. Vaughan, D.D., Dean of Llandaff, &c. New Edition. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii., 597. Price 10s. 6d.

The Trustees of the Lightfoot Fund have done wisely in giving the public an opportunity of knowing what the late Bishop of Durham was as a preacher. The first of a series of four volumes consists of a collection of historical discourses.¹ It had long been Bishop Lightfoot's desire to give a sketch of the progress of Christianity in his own Diocese. In this volume we have the partial fulfilment of a larger plan, which was to carry the history on from the Celtic Mission of Iona and Lindisfarne to Bishop Butler. We miss three of the sketches which formed part of his design, namely those of St Columba, the Life of Bede, and Antony Bek. We should also have been glad to see how so able a hand would have dealt with other notabilities of the northern districts of England, Caedmon, St Chad, Paulinus, St John of Beverley. But the stories of the careers of Oswald, Aidan, Hilda, Cuthbert, and the Death of Bede, familiar as in some respects they are, are told here with a direct and telling force which makes them almost new. The less known figures of Richard de Bury, Bernard Gilpin, and John Cosin, are also made to attract our attention. The last discourse is devoted to Joseph Butler, in Dr Lightfoot's estimate the greatest of the bishops of Durham, who is exhibited in the grandeur of a character dominated in life by the thought expressed in death that it is "an awful thing to appear before the Moral Governor of the World."

A second volume² contains seventy-nine Ordination Addresses and fourteen Counsels to Clergy. Practical good sense is the chief characteristic of these. Under a profound sense of responsibility the Bishop speaks with a direct, homely force of the pastor's commission, the details of his daily work, his common hopes and fears, his dangers and his securities. There is at the same time intense feeling in them which brings a glow into the statement of the most ordinary duties. Neither are passages of a loftier flight wanting. Among the richest of these discourses we may name those on *Burdens*, on

¹ *Leaders in the Northern Church: Sermons preached in the Diocese of Durham.* By the late Joseph Barber Lightfoot, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., &c. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii., 203. Price 6s.

² *Ordination Addresses and Counsels to Clergy.* By the late Joseph Barber Lightfoot, D.D., &c. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo pp. xii.-318. Price 6s.

the *Repulsion and Attraction of Christ*, and on the *Partisan Spirit*.

A third volume¹ gives us a number of Cambridge Sermons, eight Trinity College Chapel Sermons, and eleven University Sermons. These are more elaborate discourses, and show Bishop Lightfoot at his best as a preacher. Some of them are of a very striking order, those, for example, on *Esau*, on the *Wrath of the Lamb* (in many respects a most remarkable sermon), on the *Meanness and the Greatness of Man*, and on *Bethel*.

A fourth volume,² dedicated to the memory of Dean Church, vies with the third in the value of its contents. It contains some searching studies of character, above all others the very striking discourse on *Balaam and Balak*. It contains also some of the best examples of the Bishop's higher order of thinking, as in the sermons on *The Counsel of Caiaphas*, *Pilate's Question*, and *Why stand ye gazing up into heaven?* The last is one of the weightiest and most satisfying expositions of the Ascension with which we are acquainted. Bishop Lightfoot was, first and foremost, a scholar. But these volumes of sermons, ranging over so wide a variety of subject, clothed in language of such force and definiteness, so rich in thought, and fired with such earnestness of purpose, prove him to have possessed not a few of the gifts which make the greatness of the preacher.

Professor Momerie has the ear of the public. That this volume³ is in its second edition is evidence of that. Everything he writes is clear and pointed, never carrying us into any great depths, never attempting any high flight, but leaving us in no uncertainty so far as it takes us. His sermons avoid the profounder soundings of the Christian life, and the strong forms of evangelical doctrine. They seldom touch the Person

¹ Cambridge Sermons. By the late Joseph Barber Lightfoot, D.D. &c. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii.-334. Price 6s.

² Sermons preached in St Paul's Cathedral. By the late Joseph Barber Lightfoot, D.D., &c. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv.-314. Price 6s.

³ Church and Creed: Sermons preached in the Chapel of the Foundling Hospital. By Alfred William Momerie, M.A., D.Sc., LL.D. Second edition. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. Cr. 8vo, pp. 258. Price 4s. 6d.

of Christ, the work of atonement and reconciliation, the ministry of the Holy Ghost, which make the great notes in the message of Paul and John. They deal by preference with the moral spirit of the Gospel, the more general topics of creed and conduct, and the fundamental questions of Theism. Within these limits Professor Momerie sermonises with a certain pungent definiteness, removing obstacles which rise in the way of faith from the thought and science of the age, setting ethical truth in its own light, and enforcing the claims of Christian duty. In this spirit he discourses in the present volume on such subjects as *Reverence, Little Kindnesses, and Laughter*, as well as on larger subjects—the *Church, Salvation by Creed, Use and Abuse of Creeds, the Resurrection of the Body*. He concludes with a lecture on the *Didaché*.

Another volume¹ of Sermons comes from one whose worth it is superfluous to commend. In a series of thirty-four discourses Dr Maclaren carries us with reverence and power through that section of the Fourth Gospel which has ever been felt to be the inner sanctuary of the Evangelical history. Dr Maclaren here exhibits the best qualities of his style of pulpit exposition, and how high those qualities are it is needless now to say. Let the reader look into the chapters which bear the headings *Many Mansions, The True Vision of the Father, Christ's Peace, The Facts which Convince the World, Peace and Victory*, and he will understand what manner of interpreter and preacher the writer of this volume is.

In a recent addition to the series of *Handbooks for Bible Classes*,² Principal Douglas expounds six of the prophetic books:—Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah. The literary and historical questions are briefly, but carefully, discussed. The author's own attitude is conservative. This appears particularly in his treatment of Jonah, where he argues strongly against the parabolic interpretation. He has a generous consideration, however, for

¹ The Holy of Holies: Sermons on fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth chapters of the Gospel of John. By Alexander Maclaren, D.D. London: Alexander & Shephard. Cr. 8vo, pp. 379. Price 5s.

² The Six Intermediate Minor Prophets. By George C. M. Douglas, D.D., Principal and Professor of Hebrew in the Free Church College, Glasgow, &c. Edinburgh: T. & Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 157. Price 1s. 6d.

those of different critical leanings. He prefers an earlier date for Obadiah than that of the Chaldean Conquest of Jerusalem. In the case of Nahum he puts very clearly the reasons which are urged for connecting the prophecy with the fall of Thebes, and so assigning it to Manasseh's time rather than to that of Isaiah and Micah. The running commentary is concise, helpful, and devout. It is at its best probably in Habakkuk.

In a small but interesting volume upon Isaiah¹ Mr Blake aims at giving a "historical representation of a prophet's views and environment, very much in the words of his own choosing, or in the literature of the time in which he lived." This is done with a large measure of success. The book of Isaiah is taken to contain prophecies by several prophets, and the various parts of which it consists are placed in the historical order which is approved by the best scholars. A special chapter is added on the *Religious Conceptions of Isaiah*; and the usefulness of the volume is further increased by a Chronological Table and a Glossary of Names and References. The author withal is careful not to claim certainty for all the critical conclusions which are represented in his setting of the prophecies. He has read widely and intelligently, and has made a gallant attempt to enable the ordinary English reader to understand Isaiah as Isaiah is presented by recent criticism and investigation.

Herr Funcke's popular volume of Discourses² has found a competent translator. This Bremen preacher is one of those who are anxiously seeking new ways of presenting old truth. His conviction is that, while the gospel is not to be accommodated to the ideas of the *Zeit-geist*, the Church has to "widen her gates," and forswear many things which she has favoured too long—an artificial pulpit diction, a "straw-splitting theology," sectarian disputation, the commingling of the gospel with

¹ *How to Read Isaiah: Being the Prophecies of Isaiah arranged in order of Time and Subject, with Explanations and Glossary.* By Buchanan Blake, B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 187. Price 2s. 6d.

The World of Faith and the Everyday World as displayed in the footsteps of Abraham. By Otto Funcke, Pastor of the Friedens Kirche, Bremen. Translated from the Sixth German Edition, by Sophia Taylor. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Post 8vo, pp. xvi., 353. Price 7s. 6d.

politics, and all intermeddling of the Church and the State with one another. He would have the preacher keep his message free from all such entanglements, and live among his people so as to understand them. In this spirit he discourses on the great passages in Abraham's life. The book is most vivacious in style, eminently practical in tone, and rich in good things.

We have already had occasion to notice the late Dr Döllinger's *Briefe und Erklärungen*. We now welcome an "authorised" translation¹ of that important collection. The translation is skilfully executed, and puts the English reader quite abreast of the original. The volume itself is one of those which historians in after years will reckon among their most precious sources. From first to last it is of historical as well as personal interest. The first document, *Considerations for the Bishops of the Council respecting the question of Papal Infallibility*, is of great value. Many of those that follow are equally worthy of attention. Especially is this the case with the correspondence between Döllinger and the Archbishop of Munich. If anyone desires to understand how the Decrees of Council are made to come to pass, and what it means to follow conviction in such an atmosphere, let him read this book.

It is understood that a biography of the late Professor Delitzsch is to be prepared by Herr Faber, the first Superintendent of the Institutum Judaicum in Leipsic. Meantime Professor Curtiss, one of the great Hebraist's many pupils, publishes a small memorial volume² which will be welcome to many. It gives a good idea of what Franz Delitzsch was as Teacher, Theologian, Author, and Friend of Israel, and reports many interesting particulars of his long and honourable life. A chapter might well have been added on Delitzsch as Letter-writer. One of his special gifts lay in that direction. His correspondence, which was almost world-wide, and in which he let himself out as nowhere else, except in the

¹ *Declarations and Letters on the Vatican Decrees, 1869-1887.* By Ignaz von Döllinger. Authorised Translation. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Crown 8vo, pp. x., 178. Price 3s. 6d.

² *Franz Delitzsch: A Memorial Tribute.* By Samuel Ives Curtiss, Professor in Chicago Theological Seminary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Crown 8vo, pp. v., 96. With portrait. Price 3s.

choicer hours of private intercourse, should certainly be collected and published.

Every scholar knows how Dr Sanday has discharged one of the two duties which he recognises to be the special duties of the Theological Professor. By patient, scientific work he has done more than most to advance the detailed study of the subject committed to him. In a modest volume,¹ consisting mainly of Lectures delivered at Whitehall and Oxford, he addresses himself to the second of these duties—that of helping “the public mind to clear itself in times of difficulty and perplexity.” He writes on the anxious subject of Biblical Inspiration with the view of allaying the fears which the operations of science and criticism naturally excite when the bearings of their results are only imperfectly understood. There is no better service for the trained theologian to render at present than to give a careful estimate of the losses and the larger gains which may come to us by the critical movement, and place the public in a position to see into the real state of the question. Dr Sanday does this with the precision and the caution which the case requires. The book is, perhaps, even more valuable for its incidental statements on many points of Biblical Scholarship than for its main argument. For example, on grounds lying largely in the history of the text, he concludes (though by no means dogmatically) that the Maccabean age is the latest date to which the completion of the Psalter can be assigned. He is doubtful, indeed, whether it contains any Maccabean Psalms. He makes some interesting remarks upon the Canon, which come short, however, of covering the real difficulties of the case. His explanation of the formation of the Canon is simply the “usage of the Churches,” in which he thinks we may recognise Divine guidance. There is, too, a careful and reverent chapter on *Christ and the Scriptures*, in which he rejects the idea of *accommodation*, and prefers that of a real limitation of knowledge—a limitation to which

¹ *The Oracles of God. Nine Lectures on the Nature and Extent of Biblical Inspiration, and on the Special Significance of the Old Testament Scriptures at the Present Time. With two Appendices. By William Sanday, D.D., LL.D., &c. London: Longmans. Crown 8vo, pp. x., 147. Price 4s.*

He condescended as part of the process of *Kenosis* referred to by Paul. As regards the main burden of the book, the most important things are the positions affirmed on the inerrancy and the authority of Scripture. On the former, he holds that both in the Old Testament and in the New, the history, as distinguished from the doctrine, seems to proceed on the ordinary method, and that, so far as the Bible itself instructs us, we have no reason to claim for the narratives a strict immunity from error. On the latter, he finds the grounds for our belief in the Bible as the Word of God, first in the testimony of experience—the experience that the Bible *finds* us, and secondly, in the testimony of the writers—their testimony to the fact that they spoke only by the constraining impulse of the Spirit. To these two, he appears disposed to add a third in the verification of history. In the first of these three grounds of belief, Dr Sanday is much in sympathy with Dr Dale's argument, in his very able and eloquent volume on *The Living Christ*. Both writers state what is true and of vital moment, and state it well. We feel, however, that it is but part of the truth, and that it applies to much that is in the Bible, but not to the Bible as a whole. But in the second of these grounds, Dr Sanday has a different case, and states it with force. The volume, small as it is, will well repay more than one perusal.

Record of Select Literature.

I.—OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE.

- LUMBY, Rev. Prof. J. R. *The First Book of the Kings*. With Map, Introduction, and Notes. (Smaller Cambridge Bible.) Cambridge Warehouse. 18mo, pp. 144. 1s.
- KELLOGG, S. H., D.D. *The Book of Leviticus*. (The Expositor's Bible.) London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii., 566. 7s. 6d.
- BLAKE, Rev. B. *How to read Isaiah: being the Prophecies of Isaiah arranged in order of Time and Subject*. With Explanations and Glossary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 187. 2s. 6d.
- HARPER, H. A. *The Bible and Modern Discoveries*. With Maps and Illustrations. Fourth Edition revised, with Notes, Errata, and Appendix. London: Watt. Cr. 8vo, pp. 432. 7s. 6d.

- KIRKPATRICK, Rev. Prof. A. F. The Book of Psalms. With Introduction and Notes. Book I., Psalms i.-xli. (Cambridge Bible for Schools.) Cambridge Warehouse. 12mo, pp. lxxix., 227. 3s. 6d.
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- SWETE, H. B. The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint. Vol. ii. Cambridge University Press. Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d.
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- "WHO hath Believed our Report?" A Letter to the Editor of the *Athenæum* on some Affinities of the Hebrew Language. London: Sutton, Drowley & Co. 8vo. 1s.
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- INDEX to Schürer's History of the Jewish People in the Time of Christ. Translated by Rev. John Macpherson, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 99. 2s. 6d. net.
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- ROCHAT, E. Étude historique et critique sur la Sapience de Salomon, la pensée juive, la pensée grecque et leurs rapports avec la pensée Chrétienne. Dissertation. Genève: Fick. 8vo, pp. 100. Price not given.
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Philomythus: An Antidote against Credulity. A Discussion of Cardinal Newman's Essay on Ecclesiastical Miracles.

By Edwin A. Abbott. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 259.

Price 3s. 6d.

DR ABBOTT makes no secret of the purpose he has in view in writing this volume. Since certain people are saying "Cardinal Newman's religious works *ought to be* generally read," it seems only fair, and nothing more than a kind of self-defence, that those who think some, at all events, of his works to be hurtful in their bearing upon religion, should say with equal plainness, "Some, at least, of Cardinal Newman's works *ought not to be* generally read," and should give their reasons for thinking so. Again, he says, "My object is to prove that Newman's logical principles tend to make ordinary people superstitious, credulous and lazy; superstitious, because, instead of looking God's facts in the face, and seeking to know them through the faculties which He has given them, men under these fettering principles are constantly tempted to crouch before Him and say, 'We will believe anything to have happened or not to have happened. Only do Thou tell us by some special sign, some conspicuous authority, what Thou wouldst have us believe;' credulous, because in such a frame of mind as this, to believe any lying legend that 'may possibly be telling of Him,' seems safer than to reject it; lazy, because, this miracle-mongering mood disposes men to expect that the truth about facts should be itself conveyed to them by means little short of miraculous, without any painful effort on their part to use their minds and understanding."

Dr Abbott's object will be approved by a large number of those who are interested in the religious condition of our country. Fascinating as was the personality of Cardinal Newman, and profound as was his spiritual insight, it must be owned that his influence has on the whole been on the side of what is retrograde in thought and mechanical in religion. That a man of powers so transcendent should have lived through one of the most stirring periods of Christian history, and should have quite misapprehended the nature of the work his age was invited to perform, is a perplexing and saddening fact. But great as Newman was, he did less to elucidate the theological problems with which his generation was confronted, than many men inferior both in character and in mental calibre. He has

probably aided the spiritual life of many individuals by his vivid apprehension of the reality of the unseen world, and by his lifelike reproductions of spiritual moods and experiences, but even in his religious life there was a morbid strain, and his reaction in favour of Romanism is simply and merely deplorable. He has misguided religious inquirers and has taught men to look backwards instead of forwards. In an age when religion has been striving to break free from the swaddling clothes of ritual and observance, and has been trying its strength with the palpable woes of mankind, this great religious leader has used his unrivalled influence to bid religion back to the morbid introspection and lazy selfishness of the monkish cell, and to find its life in swinging censers, in fasts, and candles, and cardinals' hats. No man more habitually lived in the spiritual world, and yet his whole ecclesiastical career was governed and spoiled by his childish and external conception of the Visible Church. In Newman the misleading and retarding spirit that lives in Romanism has played its last card among Englishmen, for never again can a brighter mind or a more influential character be used to resuscitate a defunct mediaevalism. To stay the advance of Liberalism is to engage in a mistaken and hopeless task, and to this task Newman was induced to devote his life because a quite exceptional narrowness was the compensation he had to pay for his extraordinary intensity.

Granting the legitimacy of Dr Abbott's purpose, we must further ask, whether he has accomplished it, and how? Probably few will quite approve of his tone. We cannot but wish he had pondered and followed the counsel of Brutus :

" Let us be sacrificers, but not butchers, Caius,
Let's kill him boldly, but not wrathfully,
Let's carve him as a dish fit for the gods,
Not hew him as a carcase fit for hounds."

Dr Abbott's onslaught is sometimes fiercer than need be, and sometimes his criticism is pedantic and overdone. For example, when Newman says that men are such fools, and words so easily misunderstood that he must always be asking himself, "What will be the effect of my words?" Dr Abbott concludes that he felt a more than usual tendency to speak with a view to effect. But this is to be run away with by a phrase. Every speaker must in a true sense speak with a view to effect. He means to convey a certain meaning, and chooses his words so as to convey this meaning to the people he addresses. Again, when Newman speaks of himself as "loving the truth, but not possessing it, for I believe myself at heart to be nearly hollow, i.e., with little love, little self-denial," Dr Abbott comments on this confession thus :—"Such a sentence as

this a lost soul might pass upon itself on the Day of Judgment. It makes us shudder to the very depth of our being." Such criticism is quite extravagant, and also prompts the reader to question whether its author could possibly do justice to Newman or even understand him. Surely such self-diffidence as is expressed in the obnoxious clause is a common feature of those who are of the household of faith, and who cannot but feel occasional alarm at the interval that separates their practice from their professed principles. Here and elsewhere Dr Abbott betrays a certain bluntness of perception which is in marked contrast to Newman's insight.

Coming to the substance of Dr Abbott's criticism we find that he divides it into two parts, the first of which deals with Newman's theory of probability, the second with his essay on ecclesiastical miracles. The second part is as effective as the first is confused, weak, and misleading. Dr Abbott objects to Bishop Butler's saying that "probability is the guide of life," and seeks to prove that the bulk of our actions are done in faith and without any thought of probability. Yet his own argument seems to admit that this faith is founded, not indeed on a conscious calculation of probabilities, but still on a latent recognition of probabilities. "No thought of probability enters our minds about all these things. Of course, if, as we are going down-stairs, some one stops us and says, 'Is it *certain* that you will have your breakfast to-day?' we should perhaps—to be precise—reply, 'Well, it's *highly probable*.' But, whatever our words might be, we act in a practical certitude." Quite so; "a *practical certitude*," that is to say, a certitude sufficient to enable us to act upon it, a probability so well founded and so strong that a sane man does not call it in question, but still only a probability, not a certainty.

It matters very little whether Newman or his critic takes the more correct view of the relation of probability to our ordinary conduct, but the difference between the two views assumes importance when the question is, On what is our belief in God founded? It would appear that Dr Abbott demands that our faith in God should amount to absolute certitude. He denounces in the strongest language the view of Newman who believed in God "on a ground of probability, a cumulative, a transcendent probability, but still probability; inasmuch as He who made us has so willed, that in mathematics indeed we arrive at certitude by rigid demonstration, but in religious inquiry we arrive at certitude by accumulated probabilities." This we had supposed to be the most rudimentary commonplace of religious thought, a statement which every one, theologian or layman, who had considered the nature of our belief in God, would most readily endorse. Dr Abbott thinks otherwise; and in his eagerness to destroy Newman's position, seems to commit

himself to a view of faith which it is impossible to defend. We say "seems to commit himself," for after all, Dr Abbott does not suppose that faith is founded on demonstration, and therefore cannot claim for his faith a certitude stronger than Newman claims. In a very fine passage (pp. 66-68) in which Dr Abbott describes the growth of faith, he maintains that the early Christians "did not believe upon a probability. The probability, the harmony of the evidence *arrested their attention* ; but it was the sense of affection which did the deed ; it was the 'family-likeness' between man and God self-asserting itself in the heart of the converted ; it was the spirit leaping up to welcome the Father towards whom it had long been blindly groping." But Newman would have accepted this as a true account of the genesis of faith, and would still have maintained that if the ground of this faith were analyzed it would be found to amount to no more than the highest probability. Throughout his argument Dr Abbott seems to use the term "probability" as equivalent to probability explicit and considered, and to deny that latent probability is probability at all. Few believing men can analyze their belief, or sift out what is instinctive from what is intellectual in the grounds of it ; but if the analysis is undertaken, it will certainly be found that both the intellectual and the instinctive elements in it proceed upon probabilities. And it is the number and variety as much as the individual decisiveness of these probabilities which strengthen the certitude of our faith in God. And by showing, as he has with felicity and beauty of expression shown, that in certain numerous cases faith springs up and gains strength without any explicit weighing of probabilities, Dr Abbott has by no means proved his point that faith is not founded on probability. And if by denouncing Newman's view he leads men to suppose that unless their faith is more strongly founded, it is not to be trusted, he will disastrously mislead religious inquirers.

But when we reach the criticism proper for the sake of which the book was written, we follow Dr Abbott with entire satisfaction. If Newman's book on ecclesiastical miracles deserved attention so serious and criticism so elaborate, the task of disentangling and exposing his sophistries, rectifying his misquotations, unmasking his self-deceptions, and utterly exploding his argument, could not have been performed in a more masterly manner. It is indeed only a criticism, and therefore does not seek to explain fully the credence given to "ecclesiastical miracles ;" but many hints are dropped which will materially assist in the formation of a sound theory ; and, above all, the mass of accumulated rubbish which has prevented the building up of such a theory is cleared away. There is much in Newman's essay on the miracles of Scripture which is worthy of him and which is not only subtle but full of light ; but by exposing

the fallacies which underlie and pervade the essay on ecclesiastical miracles, Dr Abbott has rendered a valuable service to the cause of truth and made a contribution of permanent worth to the study of ecclesiastical history.

MARCUS DODS.

Wendt's "Inhalt der Lehre Jesu."

Der Inhalt der Lehre Jesu von Hans Hinrich Wendt. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xiv. 678. 12 m.

WHEN the first part of this work appeared in 1886 under the general title "Die Lehre Jesu," without even the usual "*dargestellt*" to suggest that there was a subjective as well as an objective side to the presentation, it created expectations which it did not quite meet, for it dealt merely with the previous question as to the sources which supply primary materials for a statement of Christ's teaching. But Dr Wendt has in this second volume done much to redeem the promise of his title—which now becomes "Der Inhalt der Lehre Jesu"—and has produced a remarkably fresh and suggestive work, deserving to be ranked among the most important contributions to Biblical theology.

The first volume is one of the many ingenious attempts to disengage the original elements of the Gospels from the results of subsequent accretion or manipulation conceived to be associated with them in their present form; and it seeks to accomplish this by a detailed process of critical sifting or of conjectural divination, which will to some appear legitimate, but will by many be accounted arbitrary. Not a few of its combinations are novel and striking; but it is fortunate for the reader, who has not yet reached the measure of Dr Sanday's faith in a consensus of critics as to accepted results, and who desires to learn Dr Wendt's view of the teaching apart from his critical assumptions, that it is by no means necessary (though it is in Wendt's view eminently desirable) to bring to the study of the second volume a minute acquaintance with, or acceptance of, the conclusions of the first. The restrictions which he has imposed on himself do not in general impair the value, while in some respects they even enhance the significance, of his interpretation of so much as he deems primarily vouched for.

Suffice it to say that his first source is the Gospel of Mark, and his second the Logia underlying our First and Third Gospels, in which the original materials may be extracted by critical tact from their present surroundings. But, along with this view common to him with Weiss and other Synoptic critics, Dr Wendt stands for the

time almost alone in holding that he may turn to account "a third chief source" in an earlier written document which he conceives to underlie the existing Gospel of John. Apart from the unsuitableness of the discourses contained in that Gospel to the historical framework in which they are presented, he appeals to a practical test, viz.:—the elimination of longer or shorter intervening sentences with the marked effect, as he conceives, of thereby restoring the desiderated connection and making the meaning clear—as showing that the writer has used an earlier source (the contents of which he has not really understood, and has shifted so as to spread over the whole ministry what really belonged to its closing days) proceeding from the same author as the First Epistle of John, and giving a view of the teaching of Jesus which accords substantially with the picture in the Synoptists, and differs only quantitatively in emphasis and detail. He does not expect in the meantime assent to a position which runs so counter to the traditional axiom of the unity of St John's Gospel; although he expresses a confident hope that this prejudice, as he calls it, will gradually disappear before "grounds so numerous and clear." Meanwhile he wisely prefers to deduce his main representation from the Synoptic sources, and to treat what he finds embedded in John's Gospel as collateral and corroborative. Whatever may be thought of his theory, not the least interesting features of the book are the care, skill, and fairness with which the testimony thus elicited from the assumed nucleus of John's Gospel is correlated and, amidst all contrasts of form, substantially identified with that derived from the Synoptists.

The *first section* deals, in ch. i., with the historical *points of attachment* which the teaching of Jesus found in the religious views of the Jews of his time. "It is an element in the peculiar greatness of Jesus that He is free from studied effort to exhibit originality in His teaching; that He takes His place, with the full consciousness of doing so, in the connection of historical development, and puts forth the revelation, of which He was aware that He was the organ, not as standing in contrast to, but as carrying onward and completing, the earlier divine revelation which was the glory of the people of Israel." Referring to Schürer's great work for the details of the picture, he singles out, as the salient characteristics of the Jews, their tenacious adherence to their ancestral religion in spite of the prevailing influences of Hellenism in that age; their reverence for the sacred books included in the Canon, which forms the most significant achievement of post-exilic Judaism in its bearing on Christianity; the shifts of allegoric interpretation and pseudopigraphic Apocalypses, which were resorted to for reconciling some measure of development with the otherwise unflinching retention of the old; the conception of man's relation to

God predominantly under a legal aspect, in which all service rendered has its fitting reward, and all blessing obtained presumes a previous merit; the importance of ritual as compared with moral requirements not merely in the popular estimate, but in the teaching of the authorities themselves; the stress laid on "holiness"—that is, separation from, and elevation above, the world—as the most essential mark of God, which led to the withdrawal of the Divine name from common use, to the elaboration of the concept of angels as mediators, and to a practical subordination of ethical rules to ascetic and lustrative observances. These tendencies reached their height in Essenism, which carried out Pharisaic righteousness to the utmost, and in Philo's philosophy of religion, which postulated an ascetic mortification of sense. Although there is no evidence that Jesus came into immediate contact with either Essenism or Alexandrian philosophy, it is well to note these indications of the direction of the current; and accordingly the chapter concludes with a brief reference to the attitude of Philo as the reformer of Judaism, whose efforts to strip off national prejudices, to give consistent effect to the idea of the divine transcendence, and to adopt the best elements of philosophic Hellenism so as to meet the needs of the cultured world, were reflected in the Apologists of the second century who treated Christianity as a spiritualised Judaism. "But the question may well be asked, whether such a view as Philo's could of itself have given the impulse to such mission work as Paul's, or to such joy of confession as that of the Christian martyrs; whether it would have been able not merely to satisfy the intelligence and the needs of the culture of the time, but to furnish the great mass of the people with a new life and new ideals; and lastly, whether it would have carried in itself such a force of truth as not merely to appear the highest wisdom to the culture of the decaying ancient world, but to survive all the changes of history as an eternally valid revelation for mankind."

Chapter ii. treats separately the religious hopes of the Jews, because of their special importance as bearing on the claim of Jesus to fulfil them, but to do so after a manner running counter to national expectations and cherished ideals. After touching on the intensity of those hopes and their relation to the general conception of righteousness meriting reward, Dr Wendt dwells on their varieties of form, according as the general expectation of a coming state of bliss was held apart from, or was bound up with, that of the Messianic King; according as the personal hope of the individual stood related to that of national blessedness; and according to the diversity with which the moral and religious conditions of this bliss were apprehended, as strikingly shown in the emphasis laid on the moral side in the Psalter of Solomon, and in the comparative absence of that moral aspect, and the stress laid on outward prosperity and

national triumph, in the *Assumptio Mosis*. Obviously, where the hopes assumed shapes so divergent, a fulfilment such as should meet all of them was impossible, and one which met them under certain aspects must needs run counter to others.

Chapter iii. deals with what is termed the "development of the religious view of Jesus" as emerging amidst, but yet in contrast to, Judaism. It is admitted that the materials are scanty, but a presentation of the chief points is held necessary to "further the understanding" of His teaching. This chapter seems out of place, as it at least anticipates, if it does not influence, the solution of the question, What the teaching of Jesus really was; and it is unsatisfactory, because it confessedly fails to throw light on the "development" *at the point* where light is most needed. The word seems to imply that we are able to find some answer to the question, How Jesus came to be what He was; but there is no real answer either in a frank confession of ignorance, or in a mere assumption or assertion of "certainty" (when a German begins a sentence with "*gewiss*," it may be well to ask on what his assurance rests!). Dr Wendt tells us that Jesus was not trained under Pharisaic or Essene influences, but self-taught in the school of Scripture; but, when he himself asks, How Jesus came to find in Scripture other and higher things than the Jews had found in it, he can only answer that, whatever may be allowed for the influences of a pious parental home, "the key is only to be found in that peculiar possession of spirit and power which he carried within Him, and which He felt to be a miraculous gift of God." It is admitted that, so far as the religious consciousness of Jesus went back, He always felt His sonship in relation to God. But, while we learn in one sentence that "certainly (!) in His case too this sense of sonship was gradually formed, extended, and deepened," we learn in the next breath, that "Jesus did not work His way out of an initial state of servile subjection under the law into a subsequent state of grace and free sonship; He was from the very outset (*von Anfang an*), and continued, in the state and consciousness of the sonship of God." So too, as respects the consciousness of His Messianic vocation, it is held that "the knowledge of this calling did not lie ready to hand (*fertig*) in Him long ere He entered on the Messianic work; it did not develop itself in Him out of a gradual process of conviction; but it was given to Him suddenly and surprisingly by a miraculous revelation." What is the use of applying the word "development" under circumstances where it simply misleads—as in so many other applications of that much affected and seldom defined term—by professing to clear up a mystery to which it yields no clue?

The *second section* discusses the "outward form" of the teaching; not esoteric or scholastic, nor elaborated into scientific or systematic

shape, but called forth by incidental occasions, and moulded by practical needs; not sought as an object in itself or for its own sake, but solely as a vehicle for the truth which it disclosed; and standing in striking contrast to the prolix casuistic subtleties of the scribes by its unique combination of two characteristics—the utmost clearness so as to be understood of the people, and the utmost condensation of meaning (“popular intelligibility, and the most impressive pregnancy”). The reader will follow with interest Wendt's remarks on the employment of examples and comparisons, and particularly of parables, as to which, with Weiss and Jülicher, he sets aside the allegorising mode of interpretation, and lays stress on the single point for which the analogy is conceived to be adduced. Attention is called to the frequent occurrence of parables in pairs, where the second brings into supplementary relief some aspect or point not covered by the first; as in the new piece of cloth and the new wine, the mustard seed and the leaven, the lost piece of money and the lost son, or the illustrations in John x., where the mediatorial agency of Jesus is first exhibited (1-9) by the figure of a door giving access to the fold, but—in supplement of this more mechanical illustration—there is subjoined (verses 10-16), the further one which brings to view the self-sacrifice with which the Saviour provides for the safety of the flock. (See note on p. 94 *f.*, contrasting his view with those of Weiss and Jülicher.)

The conceptions of natural phenomena, of human life, of earlier history, and particularly as to the agency of angels good or bad, which are found associated with the teaching of Jesus, are held to be simply taken up and employed according to the current popular acceptance. He did not seek to make them the objects of independent investigation, to purify or to enrich them, or by adopting them to give to them the sanction of revelation; but used them as they were popularly understood, and desired to concentrate His own and His hearers' attention wholly on what was the true object of His teaching—the gospel of the kingdom of God.

The *third section* discusses the main theme—the Kingdom of God. Dr Wendt, like most recent writers, starts from the announcement and summons of Mark i. 14, and holds that all the teaching may be brought under the two heads of instruction as to the nature of the kingdom, and exhortation to comply with its requirements. But the distinctive character of the book turns on the prominence given to the fact—so important for understanding the organic connection of the teaching—that Jesus did not start from an affirmation of his Messiahship as the basis given for the kingdom, but purposely withheld its disclosure till a comparatively advanced stage of His work, and sought first to make men understand the special nature of the blessedness and righteousness that were to character-

ise that kingdom, and the special conditions of entrance. The account of Mark is to be preferred to that of John's Gospel, which makes Jesus to be owned, and to own Himself, as the Messiah from the first. Wendt, however, has no sympathy with the view that accounts for this reserve either by a gradual growth of the Messianic consciousness after the ministry began, or by a tentative process of laying claim to the character; on the contrary, it was ever since the baptism a matter of personal experience and an undoubted certainty, the open avowal of which was repressed, partly to obviate the risk of its being misconstrued by the prevalent expectations of the Jews, but mainly that He might first pave the way for its recognition in the right sense and on the true grounds by instruction as to the nature and aims of the kingdom. "The Messiah was to be a means to an end; though in reality the means precedes the end to which it ministers, in the matter of recognition the understanding of the end must precede the understanding of the means whereby it is appropriately to be attained."

The root of the teaching, especially as regards man's *religious* interest, lies in the view given of the nature and character of God, which, though based on the Old Testament, is brought into relief, consistently carried out, and invested with a deeper meaning in the New. It is in the light of the conceptions of absolute power and judicial sovereignty over the world, and of holy exaltedness above it, which were emphasized in the later Judaism that we may see the full significance of the change whereby Jesus, instead of employing the name of "King" so naturally suggested by the idea of the "kingdom," takes up that of "Father," and makes the notion of God's fatherly love the basis of His preaching. The name denotes a relation, not merely to the members of the kingdom (as Weiss takes it), but to all men; "God does not *become*, but *is* the Heavenly Father, even for those who are only *becoming* His sons;" it implies not the mere relation of Creator, but the attitude of the divine love anticipating man's need in giving and forgiving; and, while it does not supersede the ideas of obedience and of recompense, it presents God as bestowing benefits not according to the standard of right but out of mere grace, not as a compensation for work done, but on an equally great scale where merit is out of the question.

Dr Wendt next handles the "saving benefits" (*Heil*) of the kingdom, of which God's Fatherhood is the basis and guarantee. These include, first, the forgiveness of sins, a grace-gift of which all as sinners stand in need, and secondly, not the earthly prosperity, power, and glory, to which Jewish expectation pointed, but the "being rich with God"—the heavenly blessings which are summed up in the idea of "eternal life" or, simply, of "life" (proper). These are

not to be referred wholly to the future, or bound up with the resurrection-life, the possibility and certainty of which Jesus taught, while He dissociated it from Jewish concepts and expectations. Though not of this world, they begin in it and bear on it. The guarding of believers from, or sustaining them under, earthly evil; the granting of their requests as God sees them to need; the subservience of outward and earthly conditions to the spiritual life, are not mere objects of hope, but realities of experience.

The view of God dominates the conception of "righteousness." It is pointed out that the usage of the Old Testament and LXX. (the influence of which is compared to that of Luther's translation) lead us to assume a wider sense for the conception than we commonly associate with the Greek or the English word—a sense akin to the Johannine use of ἀλήθεια not merely of intellectual truth corresponding to reality, but of moral truthfulness conforming to duty (as at John iii. 21, where ποιεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν is contrasted with φαῦλα πράσσειν); and it is suggested that this wider sense would be better expressed by employing the term "rightness" or "the right." Christ's teaching of righteousness places it in marked contrast to the Pharisaic idea of merit claiming reward by presenting it as simply dutiful fulfilment of the divine will, and in antagonism to the standard, under which the value of the outward observance was estimated apart from the inward disposition. The principles of the Sermon on the Mount represent an important revolution, liberating not merely the religious life of the people from oppressive burdens, but their physical and social life from hampering restrictions, in the light of the pure ethical conception of God which made it inconceivable that His fellowship with men should depend on mere external conditions, but called for a worship in spirit akin to His spiritual nature.

The "right" attitude towards God shows itself not so much in the general idea of "love," as in that of absolute unlimited trust (πίστις) which has God as its sole and all-sufficing object, without trace of mediation by angels or limitation by demons, whose power Jesus announces as already in principle overthrown. This trust, free from the "spirit of bondage" that prevailed in Judaism and often induced in the Psalms alternations of despair, finds its utterance in prayer, which has its model in the shorter form of Luke, where the words "Hallowed be Thy name" are not to be taken as a first petition, but rather as belonging and closely attaching themselves to the address "Father" in the sense of betokening the spirit of holy reverence that should pervade the prayer. The first and the main petition is "Thy Kingdom come," to which the other three are subordinate, not co-ordinate. When Jesus appealed to the Scriptural designation of the temple as an house

of prayer, He meant to intimate that prayer was thenceforth to take the place of sacrifice.

The "right" attitude towards men finds expression in the second great commandment, which is correlated to the first as the practical outcome and manifestation of the love to God therein required. The novelty lies in the correlation, and the significance of the new teaching is found in its contrast to the prevalent Pharisaic tendency to give to acts of ceremonial worship directed towards God precedence over acts of duty towards men, as well as in the special *religious* basis on which the whole exposition rests. Various topics of interest are here discussed—the advance on the views of the Old Testament; the sense of "neighbour" and of "brother"; the leading features of love ministering to others, anticipating their need with its benefits, forgiving their offences; as well as the practical enforcement, withal, of the special duties which are recognised as pertaining to domestic, social, and political life.

The view thus presented of God, and of the bliss and righteousness of the kingdom, leads on to an exposition of the nature and coming of the kingdom itself on the basis, not of inference from these premisses, but of definite utterances of Christ, which confirm the impression derived from them. There is a careful review of the aspects under which the kingdom appears—not external or political, nor yet purely transcendent and heavenly, future and yet also present, realising itself already on earth, although looking beyond for its consummation. The expression "kingdom of heaven" is held to be secondary, and is explained (with Schürer) as probably arising out of the Jewish custom of avoiding the direct use of the name of God. The chapter embodies a clear statement of the grounds for setting aside the theory of Beyschlag and Baldensperger as to Jesus having gradually developed and modified His view of the kingdom during the course of His ministry; but it seems to us less successful in adducing materials for the development which, on psychological grounds, it postulates prior to the baptism.

We pass next to the relation of the teaching of Jesus to the revelation of the Old Testament, which He on the one hand acknowledges, honours, and confirms, and on the other sets aside or supersedes. The notion of destroying or invalidating law can only have its due logical counterpart in a word which denotes an exercise of legislative authority; and the sense in which the law receives its *πλήρωσις*, i.e., is raised to its ideal completion, is best apprehended in the light of the fact that the legal authorities had made it their great business to "bind" and "make firm" the law, to establish by their explanations its meaning and validity down to the minutest details, and thus to "set a fence" round it. It is in contrast to this procedure of the scribes that Jesus declares it as His

purpose not to subvert the law and the propheta, or yet to leave them simply as they were, laden with the heavy burden of scribal additions, but to raise them—not by quantitative extension but by qualitative renewal—to a higher form which would yet more perfectly correspond to the divine ideal.

The last chapter deals with the conditions of belonging to the kingdom. The first of these is the readiness which trustfully accepts and eagerly presses forward to welcome the blessings that the Father is ready graciously to give, and freely destines not for those who attempt to claim reward on the basis of a prior righteousness, but for those who frankly own their sin and confess their need. Those who are called as sinners may not, however, remain in sin; though righteousness is not an antecedent condition, it is none the less to be desired and energetically sought by the members of the kingdom, whose entrance to it is to be marked by a "change of mind," and who are to turn away from all that is opposed to it, to seek its blessings in preference to any earthly benefits, and to make the greatest sacrifices on its account. The hindrances are great, but greater is the grace-power of God for those willing to trust it; the refusal to trust bars access to the kingdom. The peculiar significance of this teaching lies in its combining a doctrine of grace entirely aloof from a Pharisaic righteousness of works with such an exhibition of the moral character of the kingdom, as makes it impossible to belong to it without striving to realise its aims.

The *fourth section* treats of Jesus' "testimony to His Messiahship." The conception of the Messiah among the Jews varied with the conception of the kingdom. Jesus, who had early learned from His own experience what the true nature of the kingdom was, and set an example whereby others might learn how to realise it, had in this consciousness the sure basis of the certainty that He was the Messiah. Though He only avowed it towards the close, He was conscious of it from the baptism at the Jordan; and it was the consciousness of His personal communion with God that assured Him of His ability and vocation to undertake His Messianic work for others. "The Son of God" denotes at once resemblance to, and distinction in a preferential sense from, other members of the kingdom. It belongs to Jesus *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, and marks the closeness and purity of His loving fellowship with God. "According to the conception of the Jews the Messianic King was also Son of God; according to the conception of Jesus the Son of God, *as such*, was the Messianic King." The name "Son of man"—betokening in itself creaturely weakness and lowliness—may have been suggested by Dan. vii. 13; but it was not with the great body of the people a current title for the Messiah, and indeed would hardly have been reckoned by them a name of sufficient honour, seeing that it did

not affirm His special nearness to God and corresponding dignity, but placed Him on the same plane with other men. It was this very circumstance that led Jesus to *prefer* it as implying in Him the co-existence of Messianic dignity and human lowliness; it was a name which set a problem for the people, and at the same time suggested *in nuce* its solution. The two self-designations are analogous and complementary; and the emphatic use of the article points to Him as being the one above all others who was entitled to the names. As to the characteristic Jewish conception of Davidic sonship, Jesus did not disclaim it, but by the form of His question as to the matter treated it as relatively unimportant.

In reference to the work to which as Messiah He was called, Dr Wendt points out that He placed Himself in definite contrast to the Jewish conception of kingly rule repelled by Him as a Satanic temptation; and that He regarded Himself primarily as a teacher and prophet, exemplifying what He taught, and confirming it by His miraculous helping and healing in a ministry restricted at first to Israel, but without prejudice to its universal destination, and with confidence in its ultimate success.

The "necessity and significance of the death" are next dealt with; and it is held that, while we have not the means of tracing the development of the knowledge of Jesus in this respect, we may assume on the one hand that He did not see the necessity of His suffering so clearly at the beginning as towards the close of His ministry, and on the other, that the thought of this necessity did not merely emerge as a new element in His consciousness during the course of that ministry or at its close. He knew from the first that self-denial and self-sacrifice for the service of others were part of His calling; but His conviction of the need of undergoing suffering and death in the shape which they actually assumed can only have arisen gradually, as He saw how few rightly understood Him, how many were indifferent or contemptuous, and how their leaders became hostile. He recalled the fate of the earlier prophets and of the Baptist; but, while assured that a like fate awaited Him also, He cherished an abiding confidence that whatever might befall Him at the hands of men would tend to the furtherance of His work and aims. The "giving his life a ransom for many," which is adduced as the highest proof of His ministering love, is taken as finding its nearest analogy and best explanation in Matt. xi. 28-30, where the liberation from an oppressive yoke points to the *inward* deliverance from the pressure of sufferings, which the example of Jesus' own bearing under them teaches the disciples how they too may attain. *Λύτρον* is interpreted not with Ritschl as = *כֶּפֶר*, "protective covering," but as "ransom-money"; but it is to be taken not literally, but figuratively, and the figure is to be regarded

from what is held to be the single point of comparison—that of “deliverance from bondage,” and not as suggesting aught of equivalent or exchange. “If Jesus,” it is said, “employed the figure of ransom-money on account of the main point, that it is a means of *liberation*, He might wholly leave out of view the other elements” suggested by it. But why should it be thus assumed that, when Jesus used a word so suggestive of the *means*, He had respect merely to the *result*? If He meant this and no more, why should He have used an expression which would naturally be taken by His hearers to imply or connote more, and which, in point of fact, by its appearing to convey more than in Wendt’s view it really meant, led St Paul and the Christian Church in his steps to build a whole doctrinal system on too strict a construction of its import? This far-fetched attempt to set aside a recognition of the proper force of *λύτρον* seems to me the most conspicuous exegetical miscarriage of the book. The words at the Supper are interpreted in the light of Exod. xxiv., where the sacrifice is not a sin-offering, but a burnt and thank-offering; and the death of Jesus is presented as “such a pure and perfect rendering of obedience towards God on the part of the founder of the new covenant as God would requite by blessings on the members of the new community.” The Apostles and St Paul especially bring the forgiveness of sins into close connection with the words “for you,” and not without warrant, in the general sense of associating their increased confidence in the sin-forgiving grace of God with the death of Jesus. But Jesus said nothing to connect it with His intervention. “To Him,” says Wendt, “it appeared from the beginning a thought obviously and necessarily connected with a right knowledge of God, that God is unconditionally ready to forgive sin to the repentant sinner.” But apart from the fact that St Paul has not apprehended the teaching of Jesus thus simply or absolutely, it would seem on Wendt’s assumption that there is as little place for his explanation of the words as for the Apostle’s. For, when he speaks of “the obedience of Jesus made good (*bevollzogen*) in death becoming, on account of the actual worth which it has in God’s eyes, an actually (*thatsächlich*) operative motive for God to make good His saving will in the case of the disciples” (p. 526), one is tempted to ask, What is the relation of this “operative motive” to what is elsewhere called the “anticipating love” of God or His readiness unconditionally to forgive?

The next topic is the “heavenly future of the Messiah.” Jesus cherished a firm trust that His death would lead to heavenly life, simply because He applied to His own case the principle which He announced as holding good for others (Mark viii. 35). The resurrection, as such, is but slightly touched on, and is viewed—not as to its manner, but as to its result—in the light of “the risen being as

the angels in heaven" (Mark xii. 35). We are asked to distinguish between the conception of "rising" and that of "appearing as risen;" the words "after three days" denote a very brief interval; and it is suggested that Jesus did not give any promise of His immediate appearance before the disciples to attest His being risen—that, when He said, "After my rising I will go before you into Galilee," He meant not that they should meet with Him and see Him there, but that He should precede them as a shepherd-guide (apparently in the sense of spiritual presence), and so conduct them back to Galilee. So far as I can see, this chapter, which recognises the death and the heavenly life, takes little or no account of the "rising," which forms the transition from the one to the other.

We then pass on to "the necessary attitude of men towards the person of the Messiah." Mark, it is held, best indicates the advance from the initial requirement of penitence and trust to the stress subsequently laid on attachment to the Messiah's person. But this summons was not a new condition added to the former. His person and His teaching are in reality so closely bound together that the trustful inward acceptance and practical obedience of the latter are the truest mark of allegiance to the former. The prominence eventually given to the obedient self-surrender unto death, and to the significance of that death, enables us to see how the summons to belong to Him as disciples should shape itself into a special summons to commemorate that death; and the chapter concludes with an interesting discussion as to the significance of the "eating of the body and blood" as a symbolic sacrificial meal.

The *fifth section* treats of "the glimpses given by Jesus as to the further development of the kingdom of God on earth," and as to "the attitude of the disciples in the future." Here it is held that there are no prophecies of individual future events and of new conditions to emerge; but that Jesus, on the assumption that the contemporary generation would see the close of the present earthly Aeon, and that during the interval the conditions of earthly life would subsist for the disciples as before, gave expression to His confidence as to the development of the Church out of its small beginnings, and to His prevision of the conflict, troubles, and persecution attending that development—which would call for ceaseless fidelity, unselfish working for the kingdom, and perseverance ready to die for the kingdom's sake. Among other views here presented, the most notable are the statement that Jesus did not contemplate any fixed organisation of the Church or even make use of that designation (*ἐκκλησία*), and that the threatenings over Jerusalem (in Mark xiii., into which a "little independent Apocalypse" has found its way and been afterwards amplified in Luke) have reference, not to a political catastrophe to be brought

about by human agency, but to the final judgment of God to be introduced immediately by the returning Messiah.

In the *conclusion*, after a summary of the results reached, Dr Wendt states that he refrains from a dogmatic judgment as to their truth and scientific validity, or from an estimate of their place relatively to other systems, as not admitting of adequate treatment within his present limits; and he contents himself with noting among the more salient aspects of the teaching—1, its grand inner unity; 2, the consistency of its detailed application; 3, its purely religious character, free from all mere speculative elements; 4, its thoroughly moral nature and aims; 5, its pervading reference to the underlying principle of the Fatherhood of God; and 6, the close and complete correlation of doctrine and of life.

This brief outline of the topics dealt with can, of course, convey no idea of the mode in which it is filled up; of the careful examination of details; of the skill with which the facts are gathered, marshalled, and weighed in their mutual bearings; of the fairness with which, as a rule, different aspects, complementary or even apparently opposing, are brought out and discussed; and of the freshness marking the treatment throughout. There is hardly a page which is not suggestive; and, apart from the general value of its conclusions, there are numerous specimens of ingenious exegesis thrown out with more or less confidence as to particular passages;—such as the meaning read into the parable of the Prodigal Son (p. 150 *f.*), the discussion of the sense of ἐπιούσιος as “appertaining” or “appropriate” (p. 238); the turn given to the healing of the paralytic in Mark ii. 1 (p. 161); the interpretation of the being rich εἰς θεόν, Luke xii. 21 (p. 165); the sense assigned, in opposition to the view of Weiss, to the κοπιῶντες in Matthew xi. 28-30 (p. 179); the adroit defence of his view as to the wider sense of ἀλήθεια (in John) against Cremer (p. 203 *f.*); the conjecture that the heaven of the “Pharisees and Herod” is the one point common to the two—who had otherwise little affinity of aims or interests—of a tendency to indulge in outward political ideals (p. 295 *f.*); the note on ὁ μικρότερος (p. 350); the ingenious explanation of John v. 37, 38 (p. 360); or the novel view taken as to the bearing of the question touching the Davidic sonship (p. 436).

The book is singularly independent; and its size, considerable as it is, has not been swelled by controversy, for there is little reference at least by name to the views of others. The style is—for a German book—clear and fluent; but the pleasure of reading the work is, it must be owned, somewhat marred by a frequent tendency to diffuseness and repetition. Much of the matter of the nature of explanation, qualification, or reservation, having once been

explicitly set forth, might, instead of being reproduced almost *totidem verbis* in successive sentences, have been covered by some resumptive variation that would guard the meaning without encumbering it. This feature, however, is probably due in part to the adaptation of the book for the use of intelligent laymen as well as of experts, and in part to the writer's desire that the meaning might be fully obvious to the occasional consultant as well as to the continuous reader. The use of the work by the former is facilitated by a very full index of the Scriptural passages discussed.

WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

Cardinal Beaton, Priest and Politician.

By John Herkless, Minister of Tannadice. Edinburgh: W. Blackwood & Sons. 8vo, pp. 322. Price 7s. 6d.

THE life of Cardinal Beaton has been written by his enemies ; he is remembered by his countrymen as a profligate and persecutor, who triumphed for a season, and met, in the end, with the punishment which he deserved. Mr Froude has done justice to the intellect and courage of Henry the Eighth's formidable rival, but he looks at Scottish politics from the English point of view, and where the evidence permits a doubt, he is apt to assume that charges and allegations against the Cardinal are probably true. It is therefore only fair that the facts of David Beaton's career should be set before us by a more friendly historian. Mr Herkless has performed his task with adequate learning and literary skill ; he founds himself, for the most part, on books well known to students of the sixteenth century, but he handles his material with discretion, and states his case with due moderation. His arguments have not passed unchallenged, but we think he has succeeded in showing that a verdict of "guilty" has been recorded against the Cardinal, where justice requires us to say "not proven." Readers of Hill Burton must have observed that the received stories of Beaton's wickedness are introduced with an "it is said," or "it was believed ;" and Mr Herkless may fairly claim to follow in the footsteps of that eminently cautious historian.

For Beaton the priest there is little or nothing to be said ; he took orders because his uncle was an archbishop ; he was a younger son of Bethune of Balfour, and the church was then the only *carrière ouverte aux talents* ; so he took upon himself an office for which he had no vocation, and bound himself by vows which he never meant or tried to keep. Among the champions of the Roman see there were men (Cardinal Pole for example) sincerely religious, deeply interested in

the spiritual aspects of the Reformation controversy. Cardinal Beaton had not even an intellectual interest in religion; he was a diplomatist, a statesman, a man of the world, and as such he is to be judged.

While he was still a student in Paris, David Beaton was occasionally employed in diplomatic business; and in 1519, at the age of five-and-twenty, he was appointed resident at the court of Francis I. Five years later he returned to Scotland to become Rector of Campsie and Cambuslang, Chancellor of Glasgow, and mitred Abbot of Arbroath. Tradition represents him as a man of scandalous life; but it may be that Marion Ogilvy was in fact, though not in law, his wife, and there is no proof that he formed immoral relations with other women. He is praised for the care and gravity of his deportment in business, and the charm of his conversation was acknowledged by all who were brought into contact with him. In politics he was singularly consistent; friendship with France, resistance to the king of England, the independence of Scotland, and the rights of the church, were the objects which he kept steadily in view. Of his share in controlling the policy of the Scottish government during the life of his uncle the Archbishop, we have but little direct knowledge. David Beaton has indeed been described as the evil genius of King James V., but the description is not justified by the facts. It is possible that James, if left to himself, might have leant towards Protestantism and the English alliance. But the Protestantism of Henry VIII. was not attractive, or even respectable; and a Scottish statesman might well consider it his duty to counterwork the intrigues of so unscrupulous a neighbour. But for Beaton's policy and the French alliance, Scotland might have been partitioned like Poland.

Honours and rewards descended on the Abbot of Arbroath; he became Archbishop-Coadjutor, Archbishop, Cardinal, Legate *a latere* of the Pope, and Chancellor of the Kingdom. In the game of statecraft he held his own and rather more than his own; to say that he was without scruples is only to say that he used the means at his disposal as boldly as the same means were used against him by his enemies. He was not above the moral standard of his age; is there good reason to believe that he ever fell far below it? Our answer to this question must depend on our reading of the evidence in certain doubtful and difficult cases. The first count in the indictment is based on the scheme said to have been submitted by the Cardinal to King James, for the confiscation of the estates of about a hundred persons, suspected of heresy and treason. This was indeed an indefensible plan, but in point of principle it was much on a par with King Henry's seizure of abbey lands. The Scottish nobles had no better right than the English abbeys; if Henry robbed the

monks for neglecting their religious duties, why should not James rob his lay vassals for neglecting their political duties?

The darkest charges against the Cardinal are those which relate to the forged will of James V. and the murder of King Henry's herald. If Beaton is to be treated as a prisoner on his trial, he must have the benefit of any reasonable doubt; and Mr Herkless is able to show that the received version of these stories is at least open to question. In regard to the will, it is to be noted that Arran, who gave currency to the charge of forgery, and Knox, who improved upon Arran's account, were both prejudiced witnesses. It is also to be observed that the King's death-bed was surrounded by men, some of whom were bitterly hostile to the Cardinal. If Beaton had determined to play the forger, would he have resorted to the clumsy device of obtaining the King's signature to a blank paper, in the presence of his enemies? It would have been simpler to prepare a will privately, and to produce it after the King was dead. As to the murder of the herald, there is nothing to fix the guilt of that act on Beaton, except the fact that one of the murderers was known to him. The Cardinal knew the law of nations, and we have some difficulty in believing that he would plan an atrocious and useless crime, merely for the purpose of rendering peace with England impossible. In reading these and other stories, we must never forget that the Cardinal was the champion of a losing cause, and that the history of his government has been recorded by Protestant pens.

Nothing in history is more dramatic than the close of David Beaton's career. The execution of George Wishart, followed within a few weeks by the death of his enemy and judge, will never be forgotten by the Scottish people. But we may honour the martyr without doing injustice to the ill-fated persecutor. Wishart was a man of holy life, and he displayed at his trial a noble fidelity to truth; but he was mixed up with men who were plotting the murder of the cardinal, and bargaining with Henry VIII. for the price of blood. "A Scottish man called Wishart" had carried a letter from Crichton of Brunston to King Henry; and if the Cardinal knew or suspected that this was the Wishart arraigned before him at St Andrews, he may well have thought himself justified in dealing ruthlessly with the agent of a wicked conspiracy. The death of a man so justly revered provoked a fierce outburst of resentment; John Leslie went about showing the dagger with which he meant to avenge Master Wishart. The Cardinal was prompt in action: he called a meeting of the gentlemen of Fife, intending no doubt to seize the men who were threatening to kill him. But this "treasonable purpose," as Knox characteristically calls it, was not to be carried out. Two days before the meeting,

a small party of the Cardinal's enemies made their way into the Castle of St Andrews and murdered him. "I am a priest," he cried, "fie, fie! all is gone." So David Beaton died, and with his life was extinguished the last hope of the papacy in Scotland.

THOMAS RALEIGH.

The Massoretic Text, and the Ancient Versions of Micah.

By John Taylor, M.A. (Lond.). London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1891. Crown 8vo, pp. xi., 204. Price 5s.

THERE appears to be a lull at present in the region of what is sometimes called the higher criticism. Probably the scope of the principles involved in questions regarding the date and authorship of such books as the Pentateuch and Isaiah is becoming better understood, and their disturbing effect, and along with that interest in them, is subsiding. All the more activity seems to be displayed in the lower region, that of textual criticism. The old opinion that the text of the Old Testament had been so scrupulously guarded by the scribes that we might regard it as virtually flawless is no longer entertained; it is perceived that the text of the Old Testament is no more free from faults than the text of the New, and that the same means must be employed to correct it as are used in other cases. This feeling has given a new impulse to the study of the Versions, and results, meagre indeed on the whole, though in some instances brilliant, have been reached. Unfortunately critical helps are here very scanty, the only version that offers any fair prospect of reward to the student being the Septuagint. The temptation is all the greater to conjectural criticism, and in recent times the pages of the magazines have been flooded with fanciful emendations. A fatality seems to attend this kind of work; after a few years of it the most brilliant minds succumb, and are found offering emendations which to all but the hapless authors of them are conclusive evidence of dotage.

Several useful works on Micah have already appeared, such as the commentary of Roorda, the monograph of Ryssel, and the more general treatise of Stekhoven on the Greek version of the minor Prophets (*De Alexandrijnsche Vertaling van het Dodekapropheton*), the most careful thing perhaps upon the text of these books. Mr Taylor feels that after such works he cannot bring forward much that is new, and that his book must contain a great deal in common with those of prior investigators. Nevertheless, his work is far from superfluous. The books named are not accessible to many English students, and it is well to have results gathered together. It is

evident too that his work is the fruit of independent research, and careful study of the text and versions. His criticism is marked by sobriety and sound sense; and for those entering upon textual studies his book offers a good example of principles, and how to apply them.

Considering the difficulties of the text of Micah, and the great differences between it and the versions in many places, some may think Mr Taylor too conservative. Most of the emendations proposed by him had already been suggested by one scholar or another, and neither in number nor character are they revolutionary. Nevertheless, we cannot help thinking some of them needless, and others altogether to be rejected. The reading "a man" for "even a man," ii. 2, is that of the best MSS.; "thou shalt devote" for "I will devote," iv. 13, implies no change of consonants, *cf.* Jer. ii. 20; and perhaps the same may be said of "peoples" for "my people," vi. 16, *cf.* 2 Sam. xxii. 44 with Ps. xviii. 44. The imperative "shew us" (him) for "I will shew" after Ew., vii. 15, is by no means certain; the words may express the Divine response. A needless emendation is the *fem.*, i. 9, "*it* is come unto the gate." The subject here is not "wounds," but the general *it* (verse 12). This usually takes *fem.* (Job iv. 5), as here in the first verb, but a verb following may well be *mas.* No more necessary at least is the proposal "and darkness" for "and it shall be dark," iii. 6, though the reading might be perfectly good in itself. It is doubtful also if there is any necessity for *plural*, "who build," iii. 10, *cf.* Gen. xlvii. 3. A good deal may be said for "like flesh" (*kish'er*) after Septuagint, instead of "like that which" (*ka'asher*) in iii. 3; the parallelism would be more exact, but the principle of parallelism is apt to be overpressed. This remark also applies to the ingenious emendation (after Roorda, &c.) proposed in v. 5 (Ps. lv. 22). Improbable is the reading "measures" for "changes," ii. 4; the idea of "measuring" the land in order to give it over to the enemy is altogether too flat to find place in the abrupt and passionate lamentation. To "measure" may mean to *take* possession, but not naturally to *give* possession. Equally objectionable on the score of flatness is the reading *saying* in same verse; we doubt if the "lamentation" be ever introduced by "saying"; either it begins abruptly, or such language as "take up a lamentation and say" is used.

Decidedly to be rejected is the proposed order "when Asshur comes," v. 4, instead of "Asshur, when he comes." The form of verse shews that Asshur is nom. susp., taken up in the words "then shall we raise against him." Neither is it easy to see what sense "flock in distress" (*bsarah*) offers for "flock of a fold" (*bosrah*) in ii. 12. It is to be wished that Mr Taylor had always accompanied his emendations with a translation. It is difficult, for

example, to guess what he considers *subject* in ii. 6, where he reads active after Septuagint. R. V., margin, "reproaches never cease," seems the easiest here. The want of a translation is even more felt in ii. 9, where the author follows Septuagint again, reading "princes" of my people for "wives." The reading appears to give no sense, because it is just the princes and upper classes who are addressed and charged with "casting out" the women and children. That the *fem.* pronoun (*their* houses) should refer to "my people" is grammatically in the highest degree improbable. It is most likely that Septuagint added an aleph to the word "wives," just as it did in ii. 1, turning *yesh* into *yissa*; cf. Heb. itself in i. 15. The Septuagint is worthy of all consideration, but its weaknesses must be acknowledged. It is doubtful if its "began" i. 12, instead of "waiteth anxiously" (or, is in travail) implies any other text than our present one. Where the Septuagint found the combination *בִּתְחִלָּה* it was apt to think of the word "begin"; cf. Nah. iii. 8, where "rampart," and Ob. 20, where "host" are both rendered "beginning"; Ps. lxxvii. 10, where "my infirmity" is rendered "I have begun"; Ez. xiii. 6, where "they hope" becomes "they began." Only to notice one other point: Mr Taylor's ingenious emendation, "the upright in his walking," ii. 7, for "him that walketh uprightly," will hardly command acceptance. Not to mention the rarity of the infinitive proposed, it never is found with pronoun; and the accusative of respect after an adjective is uncommon, the phrases "upright in heart," &c., not being instances of it, as Mr Taylor supposes, but of the *genitive*. An infinitive of respect would probably have taken the preposition *ל*; cf. v. 2; 2 Sam. xiv. 25; 1 Chr. xii. 8. The nett gain in emendations which will be generally received resulting from Mr Taylor's book may not be large, but his careful examination of a difficult text is acceptable.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

La Mission du Prophète *Ezéchiél*.

Par Lucien Gautier. Lausanne: Bridel et Cie. 1891. Price Fr.3.50.

THE judgments of recent scholars on Ezekiel have been uncommonly depreciatory and harsh. Kuenen confesses that he rises from the perusal of him with very mixed feelings, and congratulates himself that his view of the Bible relieves him of the perplexities in which those must be involved who have to accept Ezekiel's utterances as the word of God. One author expresses his aversion by calling the prophet "der erste Dogmatiker"—an indelible disgrace. To another he is "a priest in a prophet's mantle," which is scripture phrase for the fable of the ancients. He is "the spiritual father of

Judaism," a legalist without bowels who condemns his countrymen with the coldbloodedness of "a criminal assize judge." He is a "scrupulous" pedant, whose God is a precisian like himself, one who blows off the small dust of the balance that he may weigh out to every man scrupulously the reward of his deeds. The differences between the Prophet's Book and the Law gave the Jewish doctors, as is known, no end of concern, and they were within an ace of condemning him as a heretic, which Wellhausen remarks would have been no more than he deserved, and only meting out to himself the measure which, pressed down and running over, he had measured into the bosom of his predecessors.

Professor Gautier's work may be regarded as partly the fruit of a reaction against such judgments. He cannot agree with them, and, though he treats their authors with perfect fairness, he thinks himself able to present a different portrait of the prophet. Others before him indeed have been sensible of the one-sidedness of the verdicts quoted, and have sought to do broader justice to the prophet, such as von Orelli, Valeton in Utrecht (*Viertal Voorlezingen*), and Stade, whose chapters on Ezekiel are some of the best in his *History*, but Mr Gautier goes over the whole subject more fully than any who have preceded him. Though his work is not written for specialists, but for students and practical teachers, and for the educated laity who desire to add to their faith knowledge, it will be found by most persons instructive and very useful. As was natural, reaction against former opinions may have carried the author too far to the other side. In two particulars he appears extreme—in pressing the idea that the prophet's mission was exclusively to his fellow-exiles, and secondly, in insisting on the literal performance of all the symbolical actions described by the prophet. It is true that the prophet was sent to the exiles, but it is strange how destitute his book is of reference to their circumstances. Elders are mentioned occasionally as assembling in his house, but these elders are the vaguest possible figures; they are referred to, and then the discourse passes on to the "House of Israel," and they are forgotten. It is very rarely that a distinction is drawn between the exiles and those left behind. The whole attention of the prophet and his fellow captives was engrossed by events at home. It is the religious significance of these events that fills his mind and his pages, and in the exiles before him he sees in idea the "House of Israel" present, and the words he utters he desires to speak in the hearing of this house wherever its members may be.

The prophet's symbolical actions have been much discussed. Some of them might well have been performed, such as joining two sticks together into one to represent the future union under one king of Judah and Israel (ch. xxxvii.). But how could the prophet "eat

his bread with quaking, and drink his water with trembling" as a sign to the house of Israel? And does any one but a commentator suppose that he actually took a sharp sword as a razor and shaved off the hair of his head and beard, burning a third of it in the city (what city?), smiting a third of it with the sword about the walls, and scattering the remaining third to the winds? Such actions, and many like them, could not have been performed, and this fact casts doubt on the literality even of those which were possible. It is disappointing to find Mr Gautier holding parley with the odious hypothesis of Klostermann. That writer, in order to explain the actions in ch. iv., where the prophet is commanded to lie motionless on his side for a year (or as Septuagint, half a year), supposes that he was a cataleptic, that he lay on his side because he could not help it, being struck with *hemiplegia*, that he prophesied with outstretched arm against Jerusalem, because his arm could not be withdrawn, being convulsively rigid, and that he was "dumb" till God opened his mouth, because afflicted with cataleptic *alalia*—in short, that the best commentary on Ezekiel is the reports on the cases of some young women treated in the hospital wards of London and Vienna. If this theory were a crotchet only it might merely excite a smile, but it is more, it appears a theological refuge, a happy escape from the dangerous idea that any writer of Scripture should represent himself as performing actions which he never performed. Thus successfully does Klostermann cast off from him every stitch and thread of "rationalism." The ingenious man need be under no fears that any of his acquaintance or readers would ever soil his addition with any derivative from that root.

Mr Gautier furnishes interesting chapters on most of the subjects suggested by Ezekiel's book, *e.g.*, on the prophet's mission, the priests, the false prophets, Jerusalem, Gog, the new temple, and others. Upon the whole it is rather in their general aspect that these subjects are treated. The remark of a writer quoted above, that Ezekiel was the first "Dogmatiker," has a good deal of truth in it. His book is a book of principles, and some of them are hard sayings which make it not easy to walk any more with him. Mr Gautier admirably characterises the false prophets as optimists, without raising the question, however, how the existence of such persons is to be explained, or asking what amount of truth and what amount of falsehood there must have been in their apprehension of the religion of Jehovah to account for their optimism. The prophet's mission as a "watchman," set to warn every individual man, the wicked that he may turn from his evil, and the righteous lest he fall from his righteousness, is treated with much practical force, but the place of "watchman" is regarded as something peculiar to him personally, whereas this conception of

the prophetic function seems just the natural one in this age, when the state was no more and only individuals remained, out of which the new kingdom of God which was at hand must be built. The chapter on Gog is excellent, one of the most thoughtful in the book; at the same time the precise setting which the prophet gives the episode is rather passed over. It is a mistake to regard Gog's invasion as a general uprising of the world against the Church. On the contrary, the known world is then at peace with the people of God. To all the nations around Israel God has already (ch. xxv.-xxxii.) revealed Himself in such a way that they no longer trouble His people. Not one of the historical nations marches under Gog's banner. His host is composed of those distant peoples who "have not heard Jehovah's fame nor seen his glory" (Is. lxvi. 19); and his invasion is the occasion of Jehovah's last act of self-manifestation to the world. History, as the prophet conceives it, whether of Israel or the nations, is Jehovah's revelation of Himself to mankind; every movement of it carries this burden, "ye shall know that I am the Lord." The wave of history pauses on the shore when Jehovah's glory rises on the uttermost ends of the earth, and all flesh see it together. The author's remarks on Ezekiel's temple are judicious. He cannot regard this temple as a mere symbol of Christian truths, it is literal; but neither is he able to regard it though literal as a prophecy which shall yet find literal fulfilment in a reconstruction of Jewish institutions at the end of the Christian age. What is it then? The author meets our curiosity by calling it a "programme," and he thinks it might have been realised but for the remissness of the returning exiles. This is rather a misconception, which overlooks the ideal and supernatural elements in the prophet's vision. Would the returned exiles, however godly and devoted they had been, have been able by stamping with their foot on the floor of the temple to open up the fountain of the river of God, which flowing eastward fertilizes the desert and sweetens the waters of the Dead Sea? The prophet's vision is not a prediction merely of that historical restoration which took place, but an ideal of the final perfection of the people of God. Whoever will understand the prophecies as the prophets meant them must begin by banishing out of his sight all supposed past fulfilments of them.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

**Physical Religion ; The Gifford Lectures before the
University of Glasgow.**

*By F. Max Müller, K.M., London : Longmans, Green & Co.
Cr. 8vo, pp. 422. Price 10s. 6d.*

WHATEVER may be the ultimate effect of Lord Gifford's munificent bequest on the progress of religious thought in Britain, it has, at least, afforded to the four eminent men who at present hold the lectureships founded by him, the opportunity of putting forward their respective views in a continuous and systematic form.

The present volume contains the second course delivered by the distinguished lecturer in Glasgow, and it deals with a subject upon which he is one of our highest authorities, the development of religious thought as displayed in the literature of ancient India.

To those familiar with the writings of Professor Max Müller much of the material of these lectures will not be new : but the attractive style and methodical arrangement of the subject render the work eminently readable.

The author defines religion as that perception of the Infinite which is able to influence the moral conduct of man. The Infinite is, to him, the Indefinite and Transcendent, and, consequently, the Impersonal ; that great unconditioned Existence at the back of the forces of Nature. He refrains from calling it the Unknowable, because he believes that mankind can have perceptions of it ; but these perceptions are self-originated in the minds of men. Revelation is that power of deducing certain concepts of God from the perception of our senses. Such a God may be praised, but He is one to whom it is inconceivable that a thoughtful man could pray with any degree of belief that his requests will be granted ; for it is impossible to determine whether He has any willingness to pay heed to the individual wants of men.

Natural religion manifests itself, according to the Professor, in the three forms—*Physical*, or that consisting of concepts based on our perceptions of the forces of nature ; *Anthropological*, or that derived from the impressions produced on mankind by the memories or traditions of ancestors or other great men ; and *Psychological*, or the impressions resulting from the philosophic attempt to answer the question—What am I ? Religious conceptions of all three kinds may, and usually do, blend into one common system. The physical perception is the most primitive ; the anthropological is secondary and often becomes engrafted upon the first ; and the psychological is the most advanced phase of religious thought and the most recent in development. It arises from "man's discovering the Infinite in himself, looking and longing for the highest self." "The early

Christian philosophers called it the Holy Ghost, a name which has received many interpretations and misinterpretations in different schools of theology, but which ought to become again what it was meant for in the beginning,—the spirit which unites all that is holy within man with the Holy of Holies, or the Infinite behind the veil of the merely personal and phenomenal self.” 251

Professor Max Müller, following the historic method, traces what he believes to be the evolution of the conception of God, as shown forth in the ancient Vedic literature. The earliest stage is the perception of the forces of nature by their effects; then the inference that there is a causal power behind these forces, and that this power has an independent will, of which these visible results are the outcome. The stages of the growth of this conception are followed in detail in reference to one great force, that of fire. Fire was first noticed as a phenomenon, then realised as an action produced by an agent. Its Sanskrit name, *agni*, means the mover, showing that the action was regarded, when its name was made, as the influence of something behind the mere phenomenon. This something becomes regarded as a person, as a being of authority, a *deva*, or bright one, and, finally, through successive stages, the conception grows until he becomes regarded as an omnipotent God.

In the course of the development of these theistic conceptions, the several Devas associated with the different prominent phenomena of nature become a brotherhood of Gods, forming a pantheon on a basis of approximate equality. Professor Max Müller believes that this polytheism is, in most cases, preceded by a stage in which each worshipper calls exclusively on the God of his own tribe or district, whom he regards as supreme for him, or in that district (as in 1 Kings xx. 23).

This stage, which has been called by him *Henotheism*, he regards as one which, in the evolution of religion, preceded that of a pure polytheism, “the progress being from the single to the many, and finally to the one.”

The field wherein Professor Max Müller has essayed to demonstrate this process of evolution is that most ancient series of Aryan compositions, the hymns of the Rig-Veda. He prefaces his analyses of these hymns by a brief history of our knowledge of the Vedic literature, and shows at what a recent date Western scholars became acquainted with this important set of writings. To Max Müller himself, Burnouf, and Aufrecht, we owe our accessible information; to the last named scholar especially we are indebted for the admirable and convenient edition of the text of the Rig-Veda in Roman characters, published at Bonn in 1877. The most useful translation for those who are not Sanskrit scholars, is that by Grassmann, published in Leipzig in 1876.

In pp. 58-83 of the Lectures, there is a concise account of the range of the Vedic literature in its three parts, representing three successive historic periods in religious development. The oldest, or hymnal part, consists of the 1028 hymns of the Rig-Veda, the productions of different authors, and composed during an early period of Aryan life. The second part is that of the Brāhmanas, prolix and prosaic; and the third or latest part is that of the Sūtras, which are pithy, terse condensations, more especially of the ritual rules of the earlier compositions. As to the actual dates of the authorship of these successive parts, scholars can give us little but vague conjecture derived from internal evidence. It can be deduced from the early historic writings of Buddhism, that when that sect arose as a protest against the corruptions of Brāhmanism, about 500 B.C., all these three parts were practically in existence as they are now. If, as Professor Max Müller suggests, 200 years be allowed for the Sūtra period, and 200 for the Brāhmanas, we are brought back to the tenth century B.C. as that at which the present collection of hymns was completed.

This allowance of 400 years is quite arbitrary. The reason for the belief in the extension of the period during which this commentary literature was being evolved, is the frequency with which the authors of the Brāhmanas have mistaken the true meanings of the Vedic hymns; but this of itself does not necessarily imply so very extended a period. St Peter tells us that even in his day there were those who mistook the meaning of some of the Pauline epistles; and a very slight acquaintance with patristic literature is sufficient to show that less than 400 years was enough to permit of many changes and misconceptions in regard to the apostolic writings; although these were actually committed to writing and accessible in that form, not like the Vedas, transmitted, for so many centuries, by oral tradition alone.

The history of Christian controversies shows also that changes in the currents of religious thought were more often due to single men than to the cumulative aggregation of the trivial modifications of successive ages of transmission. All such chronological deduction must therefore be taken only for what it is worth. The lists of names and of kings which form so distinctive a feature in the historical part of the literature of Egypt, and which one class of scholars often refer to in rather slighting terms, give to that literature the advantage that they afford a solid basis for the compilation of a historic chronology.

Professor Max Müller's estimate of age, however, cannot be considered an excessive one, and in the absence of any reason to the contrary we may fairly admit that in this wonderful literature we

have portrayed the succession of religious thought through the fourteen or fifteen centuries anterior to the Christian era.

It is only natural that these writings should be regarded as among the most interesting of the remains of the early intellectual life of humanity. They embody the thoughts and feelings of early members of our own family of mankind. But it was not necessary for our author, in order to emphasize their value, inferentially to under-rate the human interest as well as the moral and religious nature of the older literature of Egypt.

The Rig-Veda consists of hymns addressed to certain beings, Agni, Indra, Varuna, and others, who are addressed as persons delighting in the praises of their votaries. To these, certain classes of priests performed religious acts of worship, which are minutely described in the Brahmanas. Before these beings certain priests are set apart as singers, others as reciters. These hymns are the compositions of a people in a fairly advanced state of civilization, among whom the arts and industries had advanced to the stage requiring division of labour, and the cultivation of separate branches of skilled work. (In this relation R.V. ix. 112, Aufrecht II. p. 287, compares interestingly with the older poem in praise of learning, in Sallier Papyrus II. iii.) Their priests and poets were men trained for their work, observers of natural phenomena, and they expressed themselves with the consciousness that the beings whom they addressed were real powers, capable of helping or harming.

Professor Max Müller's hypothesis that in these hymns we have evidence of the successive stages of development of the theistic idea which he has formulated, is a deduction from the names used, in accordance with the theory of Noiré of which he is the apostle, that language and thought are inseparable, and must progress *pari passu*. In all the hymns, even in those which are supposed to be the most archaic, Agni is addressed as a person, as the being or agent which causes the natural phenomenon of fire, whether of the sun or the hearth, the lightning or the altar; and although there is often a confusion resulting from the use of the same word both for the effect and the cause, yet there is the idea of this duality throughout. Even in hymns like I. 65 and I. 143 this is manifest. But in our own Scriptures the metonymic interchange of names signifying effect and cause is common and causes no confusion.

The question of the relation of thought and word is too large to enter upon here; but giving due weight to all that the Professor adduces in his discussion on the subject in "The Science of Thought," there is something yet to be said on the other side, that, with the more thoughtful of mankind, ideas are generally ahead of language. The peasant poet of Northampton, John Clare, in his best known work has graphically described the dawns of ideas in the mind of

an unlettered rustic ; and what he, with the true instinct of a poet realizes there, is probably true to a greater extent than the Professor admits.

The process of Animism by which causation is ascribed to an existence behind the phenomenon, is one whose operation in the early history of religious thought cannot be doubted. It is hard to see in what respect this outcome of the "well-nigh irresistible anthropomorphic tendencies in man" differs from the anthropomorphism which Professor Max Müller protests against on p. 129. He acknowledges that the first reasonings deducible from the nomenclature, pointed to the recognition of the forces as masculine powers, and the first names as being the *noumena* of unseen forces.

There are three or four interesting side topics touched on in these Lectures which are eminently suggestive. One of these is the influence of children on the expression of religious thought. A second is the influence of the taste for riddles which was wide-spread among Oriental peoples, as we know from such tales as the story of Chintamani. Indeed, as Professor Max Müller points out, Hymn I. 164, consists entirely of such riddles.

Another interesting point is the prevalence of the vice of gambling in these remote Vedic days, as shown by the lament of the gambler in Hymn IX. 112. This also is not a surprise to the student of Indian literature, for he will remember how in the Mahābhārata gambling is ever a prominent characteristic. Yudhishtira loses all his possessions at dice, and Nala is led into many misfortunes by his love of games of hazard.

A fourth, and still more important side issue is the relation of the Vedic literature to the date of the introduction of sacrifice into worship. Professor Müller points out that the line of demarcation between many ordinary domestic actions and sacrifice is sometimes hard to trace, and adds, that in the common dictionary of the Aryan nations there is no word for sacrifice. The deduction that "the idea of sacrifice did not exist at an early period," is one which would take stronger evidence than this to establish. There are observations which might be adduced which render the view at least probable that in the neolithic age some such idea existed ; and certainly the wide diffusion and the practical identity of sacrificial rites in races so diverse as the Egyptian, Semitic and Aryan peoples, not to speak of other races, can hardly be believed to have been the result of independent origination.

The relation of alphabetic writing to the development of religious thought is dealt with in Lecture IX., and is important from its bearing on Biblical criticism. His views are summed up in the conclusion that there is no evidence of any book in alphabetic writing before the 7th century B.C. "To suppose that Moses could

have written a book in Hebrew, and with a Semitic alphabet, would be to antedate the writing of books by nearly 1000 years, and the employment of alphabetic writing in general by more than 500 years."

With the limitation given, this may be, in a measure, true, but the deduction that no books were written is certainly not true. The Egyptian writing, though not strictly alphabetic, was yet largely phonetic, and one into which simple syllabic signs entered. The earliest Semitic alphabets were of the same nature, and derivatives from the syllabic signs. In the inscription of Khufu from the Temple of the Sphinx, sixty-seven out of one hundred characters are of this simple syllabic nature; and in one line, taken at random out of the oldest book in the world, the Proverbs of Ptah-hotep, out of twenty-eight characters twenty are practically alphabetic. The alphabet used is not as flexible an instrument as the wonderful Deva-nāgarī alphabet, with its nearly five hundred distinct characters; but it is sufficiently perfect to be the vehicle for the clear expression of thought, and was used for such diverse purposes as the transmission of proverbial wisdom by Ptah-hotep, and the description of the arterial system in man by Nebsecht, many years before the traditional date even of the sojourn of Abraham in Egypt.

The force therefore of the *a priori* argument that the Old Testament traditions were probably not reduced to writing until the middle of the 5th century B.C., is lost, more especially as we know that before the 9th century a phonetic alphabet had been derived from the earlier hieratic script. Mesha's alphabet did not arise suddenly; and papyrus, leather, or other materials for bookmaking existed in Egypt long before the earliest date to which the Exodus can be assigned.

This is, however, a digression, but is an illustration of the apparent tendency, probably not intentional, to exalt the value of the Vedic literature by contrast with the supposed shortcomings of the other contemporary and older compositions.

The purely alphabetic form of writing was certainly a boon to the literary world; but yet the Egyptians expressed themselves more forcibly and elegantly through the medium of their earlier script than ever they did in the later alphabetic Coptic, even when dealing with similar subjects. Take for instance the description of the common remittent fever given in the Berlin papyrus of the 18th dynasty, and contrast it with the comparable description in the Coptic fragment on fever, transcribed and published in Zoega's catalogue, and the superiority of clearness is certainly on the side of the older description.

In the last Lecture, Professor Max Müller sums up as to the

tendency of Natural Religion, which he believes to be towards a pure Theism. The three great religious teachers, Mohammed, Buddha, and Christ, he regards as teachers of a similar kind, differing only in the degree of purity of their teaching; and while giving full credit to the points of difference, he sketches out some of the outstanding points of similarity in their doctrines. These coincidences, he believes, teach that all religions spring from the same soil, the human heart, and look to the same ideals, and that they are all surrounded by the same difficulties of thought. He regards the miracles described in connection with religious systems as excrecences added thereto by the fervent fancies of votaries.

Carrying out this line of thought, he places the stories of the miraculous birth of Our Lord on the same level with those of Buddha, Mahāvīra, and Mohammed; but he passes by the miracle of the resurrection without notice. That which the contemporary writers, St Peter, St Paul, and St John, within the century of the event, preached as the cardinal doctrine in witness to the divinity of Christ, cannot be disposed of like the stories in the later "Gospel of the Infancy," and cannot be treated as on the same platform with anything in the Tripitaka or the Koran.

Professor Max Müller has pointed out that there is an essential distinction between mythology and religion, and between ceremonial and religion. This is true in the abstract; but when, from the cultus of many of the various tribes of the world, the mythology and ceremonials are taken away, very little of a residuum will be left. The facts dealt with in the lectures testify to the growth of myth and of ceremony; but the element of religion as distinguished from these is as fully developed in the most primitive Vedic hymn as in the latest of the Upanishads.

That much of the mythology connected with the different religions of the world is due to the influence of the powers of nature on the human mind is patent to any observer. Prof. Max Müller has here sketched for us the mythology of fire; and in his recent masterly work, Mr Frazer has given us the mythology of vegetation. The latter author, however, has clearly expressed his view that the mythologies of the world cannot be explained by reference to one single set of perceptions, and we doubt not that when his promised larger work on Comparative Religion is published, he will give us therein material from which we can learn something of the relative influences of many other co-ordinate factors in moulding the forms of cultus and belief of humanity. It is indeed probable that what Professor Max Müller calls the Anthropological series of factors have been quite as important, and perhaps nearly, if not quite, as ancient sources of religious concepts as any of those which he calls purely physical.

ALEX. MACALISTER.

**Pre-Organic Evolution, and the Biblical Idea of God.
An Exposition and a Criticism.**

*By Charles Chapman, M.A., LL.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
1891. Cr. 8vo. Pp. 312. Price 6s.*

THE philosophy of Evolution as expounded by Herbert Spencer has undoubtedly, more than any other system ancient or modern, influenced the currents of thought and of belief of the intelligent English-speaking peoples in the Nineteenth Century. This is due to the general consistency of the system, its accordance with the spirit of the age and with the present position of natural science, and also to the clearness and force with which it has been enunciated. In tracing the bearings of the evolution philosophy on all branches of knowledge, physical, ethical, social, and political, and in his discussions of the problems not only of natural science, but also of humanity, the Apostle of Agnosticism has shown an independence of thought that cannot fail to win our admiration.

Few of the controversial works to which the philosophy of Spencer has given rise, are so readable or so carefully argued as that of Dr Chapman, who brings to the study a cultivated, logical faculty, as well as considerable power of clear exposition when dealing with topics in themselves involved and obscure. The line of argument is one which has been advanced by others, and has in itself not much of novelty, but it has not been put forward so forcibly or so concisely by any other of Mr Spencer's numerous critics.

The stand-point from which our author starts to investigate the philosophy of Agnosticism is that of a candid and enlightened admission that the phenomena of nature furnish presumptive evidence that some form of cosmic evolution has taken place, and he proceeds to examine how far these phenomena bear out this particular philosophic system which has been constructed from their study.

The cardinal point in the criticism may be stated thus:—It is a probable, indeed a necessary deduction, that the starting-point of the first process of evolution was an integration of the ultimate equal and undifferentiated units which constituted the primitive condition of matter, and which were equally related to the one primordial force. In such a condition the author contends that there can be no initiation of change unless by the operation of a free power outside the matter and force in this condition of primitive simplicity.

To account for the first change by comparing the primitive condition with those examples of homogeneity known to us, which are states of unstable equilibrium, is only an evasion; for we only know of comparative homogeneity in finite parts of our highly complex universe where many forms of force are at hand outside to disturb

the homogeneity within. In these cases differentiations already exist, so that it is arguing from the particular to the general to reason, from these conditions, as to the nature of the postulated primordial simplicity of the initial matter before any force external to it existed. Mr Herbert Spencer has himself stated his belief that "if centres of force absolutely uniform in powers, were diffused with absolute uniformity, through unlimited space, they would remain in equilibrium." Now on the hypothesis that evolution started from a condition of minimum simplicity, such a condition must have been the original state (unless integrations have been eternally in progress).

Mr Spencer evades the objective difficulty by saying that "this supposition cannot be represented in thought, since unlimited space is inconceivable." This is, in effect, making our own subjectivity the criterion of the objective realities outside ourselves.

Dr Chapman next proceeds to the consideration of the alternative hypothesis, that in place of the evolution of the cosmos from matter in the irreducible minimum state of simplicity in a condition of indestructible equilibrium unless influenced from without, the history of Nature has been an eternal succession of cycles of evolution and dissolution. This puts the conception of a primordial condition indefinitely back in point of time, and presents us with the process of evolution as taking place in a heterogeneous mass of debris. The nature of the evolutionary integrations are in this case different in kind from those which necessarily must have occurred in a primordial material of absolute homogeneity; it is in reality not a true evolution; for if at no period in the past the universe was in a state of primordial simplicity then differentiation must have been an eternal antecedent of evolutionary change, but, on the other hand, if at any stage matter resolved itself into the universal condition of a minimum simplicity, the same difficulty arises about the re-commencement of evolutionary process. The treatment of this part of the subject is not, however, as thorough as its importance demands, and it might with advantage be expanded in future editions.

The criticism of Mr Spencer's view of the irrational nature of the concept of creation is well put. It is true we cannot conceive of an absolute commencement, but we can believe in the potential existence of phenomena as immanent in their eternal cause; and here again the reality of the objective transcendental act does not depend for its existence on our ability to conceive it. Dr Chapman reasons well that the idea of creation does not imply absolute commencement, for, according to this view, the finite phenomenal world has had its beginning in a cause which is eternal, uncaused, the noumenal antecedent of the phenomenal effect.

In dealing with the important subject of the knowability of God, Dr Chapman is at pains at the outset to deduce from Mr Spencer's works the exact relation which his views bear to those of other philosophers Theistic and otherwise. He states that this author has shown the reasonableness of believing in the One Eternal Reality as the base and origin of all, a Reality which has a nature of its own that is unique, and not to be confounded with the phenomena derived from it: that this is the cause of all else and immanent in all things, but inscrutable and unknowable. He conceives of it as an eternal reality which has ever been the source of power, putting forth its energy in an eternal unbroken line of physical change of the material units which, in one form or another, are as ancient as the Eternal.

The Agnostic position largely owes its popularity and influence to its apparent modesty, and to its appeal to the common sense of men that our knowledge is derived from and confined to that which is phenomenal. In reference to this Dr Chapman points out that there are two aspects of the subject, which are liable to be confounded in human attempts to comprehend the Great Reality. The real essence of the Great Eternal Reality is beyond the reach of our faculties; but, on the other hand, there is a possibility of knowing something of the powers and attributes inherent in that nature. He proceeds to show from the evidence presented in the Cosmos that the central immanent force acts as a will regulated by intelligence. This is manifested in the adjustment and regular order of the inorganic universe, the process of evolution being not an independent thing or a cause, but only the method by which the Eternal Reality works.

The recognition of this naturally leads to the discussion how far it is conceivable to predicate Personality of the Eternal Reality. Here the author starts by arguing from the analogy of the Ego. We observe the character of our thoughts and actions to be rational, and hence regard the Ego from which these thoughts spring as possessing a rational nature. We similarly observe the character of the activities of the Eternal Reality manifested in the primordial adjustments, which lie at the beginnings of the evolutionary processes, to be rational, and are justified in making a like deduction. We cannot of course conceive of the nature or essence underlying the Being of the Eternal. The conditioned cannot be competent to grasp the unconditioned; but if we define personality as that which manifests itself by the possession of rational will, power, and intelligence, then we are warranted in the use of this term as attributed to the Great Reality. In this use of the word there is involved no necessary anthropomorphism or limitation. It is true that superficially thinking minds have often degraded this idea of personality. The Deity is represented by the Psalmist as

saying to man, "Thou thoughtest that I was altogether such an one as thyself." It is impossible for the finite mind ever to free itself completely from the trammels of its anthropomorphism, and human language, which is at best the sublimated derivative of expressions derived from material phenomena, can never be more than an imperfect and clumsy vehicle for the exposition of the highest spiritual truth. It is little wonder, therefore, that low and unworthy ideas of the Infinite should take hold of the popular mind, but theologians cannot be held responsible for the conceptions of a vulgar, uncultured fancy.

There is a growing tendency in the minds of some of those who have adopted the evolution philosophy to make Darwin's hypothesis of natural selection into a veritable creed, and to attach to it a superstitious reverence; and in consequence this school of evolutionists underestimate, or discard altogether, the ordinary Theistic argument from order, as if it were ruled out of court by the evolution philosophy. Order is supposed to be the outcome of evolution, which is thus enthroned as a kind of deity. In discussing this point, Dr Chapman points out, as many have done before, that order in a process is not produced as a matter of necessity by the process, and he claims that there is reason to believe that in the beginnings of the evolutionary changes the manifestations of purposeful power preceded the existence of order.

The scope of Dr Chapman's work limits him to those primary representations of the Deity which involve issues which the Spencerian philosophy calls in question, but the thoughtful reader can expand some of his lines of argument for himself, and will find them exceedingly suggestive and useful. He has certainly succeeded in the task to which he has set himself of clearing away some of the difficulties which beset the path of one who wishes candidly to consider the claims of Christian theism as a reasonable philosophic system.

ALEX. MACALISTER.

The Gospel of St John.

By Marcus Dods, D.D., Professor of Exegetical Theology, New College, Edinburgh. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiii., 388. Price 7s. 6d.

THAT power of condensation which so remarkably appeared in Dr Dods' diminutive "Introduction to the New Testament," is seen at the very outset of the present volume in the "Introductory Note," in which both the *design* and the *plan* of this Gospel are put before the reader in a few lucid sentences. To De Wette the author as-

cribes the first conception of the true view of the Fourth Gospel ; and we are glad to see this tribute to one whom we have always regarded as the Bengel of his day, for rigid fidelity to his text in the New Testament, who had the courage to retract many of the startling positions of his earlier works, and in his religious character had a spirituality which in his last years, according to the testimony of his most intimate friends, ripened into the highest evangelical views.

Starting with the introductory verses of this Gospel (ch. i. 1-18), the origin and import of that phrase "*The Word of God*"—which has given rise to a literature of its own—is rapidly but thoughtfully sketched, and the great truths taught in the pregnant statements about "the Word made flesh" are boldly expressed—His Divine Personality, He by Whom all things were brought into existence, the Life and Light of men, but men too obtuse to take it in, so that when He was in the world which was made by Him, the world knew Him not ; but to as many as did receive Him, He gave right to be called children of God, having become so by a regenerating power put forth for them, by which they beheld in Him the glory of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.

Passing on to the chapter on "*the Brazen Serpent*," the author analyses the figure employed by our Lord, and leads up cautiously step by step to the full import of it—how, as by a look at what had all the appearance of the fiery serpents that bit them, but had no poison in it, the people were healed, so, by a believing look upon Him, who was made in the likeness of sinful flesh, but without sin, as uplifted on the cross and there made sin for us, who knew no sin, we obtain eternal life.

But what is cold orthodoxy, even of the most rigid type, devoid of that in the preacher which makes it of any use to souls smarting under a sense of sin, or weary and restless, feeling their need of something, they cannot tell what? But just here it is that the author rises to his best, and we must let him speak for himself. In the chapter entitled, "*Jesus declares Himself*," he writes thus : "To this unfortunate and ill-living alien woman, then, Jesus declared Himself as He had not declared Himself to the well-to-do, respectable Jewish rabbis. The reason of this difference in our Lord's treatment of individuals arises from the different dispositions they manifest. Acknowledgment of His power to work miracles may seem at first sight as good a certificate for Christian discipleship as acknowledgment of His prophetic power. But it is not so ; because such an acknowledgment of His prophetic insight as this woman made is an acknowledgment of His power over the human heart and life. He who is thus felt to penetrate to the hidden acts, and to lay His hand upon the deepest secrets of the heart, is recognised

as in a personal connection with the individual ; and this is the foundation on which Christ can build, this is the beginning of that vital connection with Him which gives newness of life. Those who are merely solving a problem when they are considering the claims of Christ, are not likely to have any personal revelation made to them. But to every one, who, like this woman, shows some desire to receive His gifts, and who is not above owning that life is a very poor affair without some such thing as He offers ; to every one who is conscious of sin, and who looks to Him as able to deliver from all its foul entanglement, He does make Himself known. To such persons He will disclose Himself when He sees that they are ripe for the disclosure. To such the moment of moments will come, when to them He will say : ' I that speak unto Thee am He.' "

In dealing with "*the Sabbath Cure at Bethesda*," we are not sure that justice is done to the miraculous features of the case. If all that is miraculous in the story was the instantaneous healing of the impotent man, it is difficult to believe what the man said, as to why he had not been cured before Christ came to him. Certainly his words imply that the first man, and he only, who stepped into the pool after its waters were troubled was cured of whatever disease he had, and that it was his extreme impotence that made it impossible for him to get first in. Now, if that is true, it is difficult to believe that any "intermittent spring" has, or ever had, such a virtue. We cannot, therefore, take in this, certainly, the common explanation. In other respects, the scene is admirably expounded. But the next chapter, "*Jesus, the Life-giver and Judge*," is grand. The one thing which we miss here is the quickness with which the Jews perceived what our Lord meant when He claimed to work exactly as His Father worked—"He said that God was *His own Father*" (R.V., *πατέρα ἰδίου*, cf. ch. i. 41)—in a sense true of no creature—a claim which our Lord asserts His absolute right to make, but explains as meaning neither robbery nor rivalry, but the Father acting through the Son, and the Son thus, like the Father, giving life to whom He will, and the Father, as supreme Judge, yet judging no man, but committing all judgment to the Son, to the end that all men should honour the Son even as they honour the Father. Stier finely calls these two—Life-giving and Judgment—the *regalia* of God the King, which Christ here claims as His, in our nature.

But some of the chapters of this book are chiefly remarkable for their fine touches of thought and feeling, which, while not at all incidental, one scarcely expects till he comes upon them. Thus, the "*Crisis in Galilee*" is a chapter full of such touches, but we can only refer to one or two of them. "*Will ye also go away?*" yields some

fine ones, both in the question itself and in Peter's question in reply—the latter especially. The following is one of these:—

"The alternative then, as Peter saw, was Christ or nothing. And every day it is becoming clearer that this is the alternative, that between Christianity and the blankest Atheism there is no middle place. Indeed, we may say that between Christianity, with its supernatural facts, and materialism, which admits of no supernatural at all, and of nothing spiritual and immortal, there is no logical standing-ground. A man's choice lies between these two—either Christ with His claims in all their fulness, or a material universe working out its life under the impulse of some inscrutable force. There are, of course, men who are neither Christians nor materialists; but that is because they have not yet found their intellectual resting-place. As soon as they obey reason, they will travel to one or other of these extremes, for between the two is no logical standing-ground. If there is a God, then there seems nothing incredible, nothing even very surprising in Christianity. Christianity becomes merely the flower or fruit for which the world exists, the element in the world's history which gives meaning and glory to the whole of it; without Christianity, and all it involves, the world lacks interest of the highest kind. If a man finds he cannot admit the possibility of such an interference in the world's monotonous way as the incarnation implies, it is because there is in his mind an Atheistic tendency, a tendency to make the laws of the world more than the Creator; to make the world itself God, the highest thing. The Atheist's position is thorough-going and logical; and against the Atheist the man who professes to believe in a Personal God and yet denies miracles, is helpless. And in point of fact Atheistic writers are rapidly sweeping the field of all other antagonists, and the intermediate positions between Christianity and Atheism are becoming daily more untenable." (Pp. 231, 232.)

Enough has been said to make it safe to predict that this volume will not only enhance the reputation of the author with those who knew him before, but will produce another opinion of him in those who previously were startled by some of his regrettable utterances. And what is of more importance, it will be a book of permanent value, as a mine of the best thinking, and the most stimulating on the highest subjects of revealed religion. We have purposely avoided touching on one or two critical questions on which we could have ground for differing from our author, as a useless waste of the space allotted to us. But we are glad to announce what is not expressed in the book, that there is to be a sequel to it, carrying us down to the close of this Gospel.

DAVID BROWN.

Natural and Supernatural Morals.

By Rev. Henry Hughes, M.A. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Vol. I., Natural Morals, pp. xii., 369; Vol. II., Supernatural Morals, pp. xi., 321; 8vo., 1890-91. Price 24s.

THIS work presents points of considerable interest to those who concern themselves with the borderland between philosophy, particularly in its ethical aspects, and theology. In his preface Mr Hughes is careful to state very clearly the issues to which he draws attention. He desires "to establish the thesis, that there are not one, but three sciences of morals. There appears to be, first, a science of the motives and ends of conduct that belong to pagan or non-religious man, to man regarded simply as a voluntary agent forming a part of the world of nature. There appears to be, secondly, a science, which, while it includes the former, takes account also of other phenomena arising from man being brought into conscious relations with God. Of the whole body of phenomena with which this science has to do, Jewish morality may be taken as the type. And there appears to be, thirdly, a science which embraces within its scope all the phenomena of the moral life of the present day, those which are at the same time Jewish, together with others which are distinctively Christian." The elaboration of this argument falls naturally into four divisions—two in the first volume and two in the second. (1) In the first volume, under the title "Natural Morals," Mr Hughes discusses the "constraints to adopt certain modes of conduct" to which man is amenable from his very constitution. In spirit and intention this portion is strictly constructive, and is considerably the most valuable part of the work. The author, with occasional references to Aristotle, proceeds on his own line in his own way. He is affected chiefly by Aristotle and Butler. His method of treatment, accordingly, is almost exclusively analytic, the plan adopted being to enumerate as completely as possible the various "constraints" operative upon conduct. Man in the course of his experience discovers that "natural conduct" connects itself with happiness. This occasions the question, What is "natural conduct"? To answer this Mr Hughes forthwith devotes chapters ii.-xii. There are "natural constraints" of order, as well as of happiness, which lead to the conviction "that the general end of virtuous action is the promotion of the life of the individual agent in the highest degree, consistent with a due regard to other interests than his own. The general end may be conveniently spoken of as the maintenance and development of subordinated life." From this follows the discussion of "objective virtue," which is that capable of satisfying natural laws, although it may not be the virtue adopted

by this or that society. Other "constraints" are found in the circumstances that man forms a part of a natural order to which he must conform; that he tends to act uniformly and to demand that others should do the same, hence results law,—or misonicism, as modern writers would say; that "social amity" influences him to regulate his conduct so as to minimise friction with his fellows; that the desires must be so satisfied as, on the whole, to harmonise with one another; that, as a result of an ideal, new relations between the desires can be brought about, and that a "sense of order" intimates the propriety of certain acts. Mr Hughes concludes that, when these natural constraints conflict with one another, their relative claims upon obedience cannot be determined. This outline is in itself sufficient to show that he has not appreciated many of the most important findings of recent philosophical research. The old individualism of the English mind is not yet exorcised.

(2) The second part of the first volume—chapters xiii.-xviii.—is critical. Butler, Kant, J. S. Mill, Mr Sidgwick, Mr Spencer, and Dr Martineau, are considered in turn. Mr Hughes employs his conclusions regarding "natural morals" as a standard, and tries to show how far each of these thinkers departs from it. The chapter on Butler, it may be said in passing, is satisfactory, but the same cannot be allowed of the criticism of Dr Martineau, and, very specially, of Kant. (3) The second volume differs from the first mainly in the subject matter of its analysis. In the earlier portion "supernatural constraints" peculiar to the nature of Jewish morals receive notice. The force of reverence and the principle of right, both proceeding from the characteristic relationship to Jehovah, constitute the main formal content of this part. The review is continued, in a less abstractly theological manner, by treatment of obedience and sin. (4) The concluding portion of the entire work concerns Christian morals, and is highly theological; morals appear here to be dependent upon dogmatic bases. Indeed, one might fairly say that certain external accompaniments of Christian morals, rather than Christian morals themselves, are analysed. Christ's part in the "remission of sins," the place of the Christian Church, the commandment of love, and the Eucharist, are the chief topics. This volume is by no means so important as the first. It is neither so complete in the unity of its design, nor is its execution marked by the same consecutive thinking. The author's unfortunate lack of *Geist* in approaching his subject also militates against his success here more than in the purely ethical volume.

The work is marred throughout by the author's conception of his task, and this conception is sufficiently indicated by the extraordinary division which supplies him with his title. His analytic method has led him to undertake an impossible quest. No serious

philosophical thinker can now permit himself to entertain the notion that "there are three sciences of morals." One might as well say that there were three sciences of life, or of metaphysics, or of religion. These matters, if they can be theorised, must be treated "in one piece." Philosophy and science both imply the possibility of conclusions with regard to first principles; and whether these principles are to be found in the spiritual or in the natural sphere, they cannot but be regarded as manifestations of an all-pervading unity. All morals, for instance, are equally "natural" and "supernatural." If they were not "natural," they would not attach to mankind; if they were not "supernatural," they would not be "morals." The cause of this misconception is not far to seek. In the preface to the second volume, the author speaks of a "system (of natural morals) generally applicable to the case of dwellers in pagan lands." But the task of moral philosophy is, not to delineate a system "applicable" to this or that society, but to explain the totality of phenomena known as moral—to answer the question, Why are these facts termed "moral"? Or, to put it in another way, Mr Hughes has failed, as he was bound to fail, in trying to consider any portion of the life peculiar to man as if it were purely "natural," or as if, on the gift of a fuller revelation, it became distinctively "supernatural." Morals are morals simply because they attach to a being who is half spiritual and half natural. So long as man remains man, and so long as he has been human, the war between the flesh and the spirit will proceed, and has existed. To attempt to separate the elements in this compound nature is, at the same time, to destroy the unity which is presupposed in the bare affirmation of their being, and to render the problem of ethics insoluble beforehand. Mr Hughes' method, and a certain lack of metaphysical insight, are chargeable with this fault. Man, the individual, is regarded as if he were a "thing" upon which certain external forces, "natural" and "supernatural," impinge. These forces are numerous, and each operates in a direction of its own. Mr Hughes enumerates them, and guesses at their results. But his method precludes him from attempting to realise their total consequences. He does not perceive that in man himself is the point of unity from which the effects of all such forces really proceed, and in the light of which they must be viewed (*e.g.*, II, p. 154). Consequently, we are landed in a series of casuistical questions, to which any answer, or none, may be given. Akin to, and probably caused by, this analytic tendency, is the want of historical sense that marks the book. Jewish morals, for example, are treated as if they presented a homogeneous whole; no account is made of the organic development of the idea of Jehovah, nor of the results wrought by this momentous progress in the moral life of the Hebrew nation. And the same

may be said of the treatment of Christianity. Christian morals would seem to be a detached phenomenon. Their historical origin, particularly as related to Pagan (Greek) and Jewish ethics, and, more striking than either, their importation of a new practical, not theologically theoretical, ideal into human life, are strangely subordinated. There is a deliberate attempt to rend the universe which the moral philosopher, the metaphysician, and, more perhaps than either, the theologian presuppose to be a unity. To the contemporary student of ethics, particularly as they connect themselves with religion, one thing is pre-eminently needful. With all reverence he has to understand that God's revelation of Himself is in kind the same to all men in all ages, no matter how it may differ in degree. In the moral sphere especially, be it Hindu, Greek, or Roman, if the "natural" be not transformed by the presence of the "supernatural," man has not, as yet, reached beyond the level of the animals. But, if he be a moral creation, then no one is able to stigmatise him as "natural," unless, indeed, there be a desire to explain every kind of morality away. That manner of man does not exist; or, if he does, then ethics, religion, and all that pertains to what has been hitherto regarded as the spiritual sphere may take it that their time to depart has come.

But if there be fundamental misconception as to the subject in its totality, Mr Hughes must not be deprived of his due. The careful analysis of "natural constraints," the wise sincerity with which the superiority of the Christian revelation is urged, the acute treatment of sin, and the clear style in which the argument is presented throughout, are deserving of high commendation.

R. M. WENLEY.

Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte.

Von P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye. Erster Band, pp. 465. Zweiter Band, pp. 406. Freiburg I. B., J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck); Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo. Price 18 M.

THIS Manual of the History of Religion forms one of the "Series of Theological Text Books" which began with the issue of Holtzmann's New Testament Introduction, and already includes the three volumes of Harnack's History of Doctrines, besides instalments of other important works. Few, if any of these, however, are likely to exceed in interest and value the contribution of Professor Chantepie de la Saussaye, and it would be hard to imagine that any of them should exhibit in a higher degree the best qualities which such manuals ought to possess. It is with pleasure, therefore, that

we learn of the preparation of an English translation of this work which has been undertaken by Mrs Colyer Fergusson, who, as a daughter of Professor Max Müller, may lay claim to a hereditary right to serve in this way the Science of Comparative Religion, to which her father has by his writings done so much to attract general interest that he may be regarded as almost its founder in this country.

In estimating such a work as that before us, it is only fair to note and bear in mind the precise object which the writer has had in view. His aim, he tells us, was not to produce an exhaustive book of reference, but a handbook which should present in a readable form a survey of the present state of scholarship on the subject entrusted to him, and in which an attempt should be made to discriminate between ascertained results and those which are still in the region of dispute and theory. The limits prescribed by the nature and purpose of the work have forbidden, as most readers will regret, the introduction of illustrative citations from the sacred books of the various religions passed under review, and also of those legendary narratives in which lies so much of the charm of the ancient faiths—"the fair humanities of old religion." But if the history thus loses a little in brightness, this is more than counter-balanced by the clearness of the exposition and the trustworthiness of the guidance afforded to those who are willing to undertake more extended study.

It will be convenient to notice first the main portion of the book, the history proper, and to return afterwards to the introductory sections, which are, however, not the least important. The religions of which detailed historical accounts are given are those of the Chinese, Egyptians, Babylonians and Assyrians, Indians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, and Germans, concluding with the history of Islam. Comparing this list with that of Tiele (*Outlines of the History of Religion*) we find the most notable omission to be the absence of any full account of the progress of Hebrew religion. Both writers agree in omitting Christianity from their respective programmes, but this, though at first sight a serious defect (for what history of religions is that which passes over the most important of them all?), is obviously to be explained by the considerations, that Christianity requires and has elsewhere received much more extended treatment, and that in regard to it controversial elements would be apt to interfere with the objectivity and impartiality of description which it is possible to maintain in dealing with the Ethnic religions. Some historians (e.g., Preiss, *Religionsgeschichte*) include not unsuccessfully a survey of Christianity, but in the case of De la Saussaye the *lacuna* is amply supplied by other volumes in the series, while Tiele adopts as his lower limit the spread of the universal religions.

Other phases of religion to which Tiele and Preiss accord separate treatment are briefly noticed by De la Saussaye in what he calls the Ethnographic Section, in which the religions of the non-civilised races and peoples, and of those which only dimly or to a very slight extent enter into the purview of history are briefly sketched. Among these are included not only the savage races of Africa, America, and the South Seas, but the ancient Mexicans and Peruvians, the Finns, the Slavs, and the Celts, the Syrians and Phœnicians.

Each of the national religions receives a fulness of treatment commensurate with its importance in the religious history of the world. The longest sections are those on India, Greece, and Rome. The last two will prove of interest to the classical student as well as to the student of religion and civilisation in general. They embrace not only a survey of Greek and Roman mythology, but the various elements of the national life in its relation to religion as represented by the poets, the physicists, and the philosophers of the classical world—by Homer and Hesiod, Pindar and Sophocles as well as by Socrates and Plato, by Ovid and Virgil as well as by Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, by the theosophists of Alexandria, the policy of Constantine, and the reaction under Julian. The history of religious thought and life in India is naturally divided into four subsections, the first of which deals with the Vedic and Brahmanic period, the second with Jainism, the third with Buddhism, and the fourth with Hinduism. It is only necessary to add, in connection with the method observed in this historical department, that the subject matter in every section is distributed under minor headings, which are clearly marked, and that a copious analytical table of contents prefixed to the second volume makes reference to any particular point comparatively easy.

It is proper to notice that while, as we have already remarked, the Hebrew and Christian religions are not included in the historical scheme, various points of contact of these with other religions are indicated in their appropriate places. Thus the section on Egypt closes with a consideration of the possible influence of Egypt upon the development of Israel in the patriarchal and Mosaic periods; and that on Babylon and Assyria with noting the relation of the early chapters of Genesis to the traditions preserved in the recently deciphered inscriptions. Under Hinduism, allusion is made to the alleged connection with Christianity; while Persia and Rome, as well as Mohammedanism, bring the greatest of all religions at least into view. The spirit of all these references is that of the careful and impartial scholar. While allowing, for example, to Seydel the honour of having made the first really scientific attempt to prove the dependence of the early Christian literature, and especially of the Gospel history, upon Buddhistic sources, Professor De la Saussaye

points out that Seydel's conclusions rest upon views regarding these sources which are as generally rejected by experts in that department as his views on the criticism of the Gospels are by New Testament scholars. On the other hand, our author is as little disposed to admit to its full extent the contention of Weber that all that is most profound in Hinduism is of Christian origin.

It is, however, in the first or General Division of his work that the characteristic caution and fair-mindedness of De la Saussaye is most conspicuous. After a brief notice of the general nature and essential conditions of the science of religion, the bearing upon the latter of the doctrine of evolution, and the question whether the origin of religion is to be located on the near or the far side of the line which divides man from the lower animals, receive, if not final solution, at least fair and adequate statement. We then pass to the various methods which have been employed in the enquiry as to the first beginnings of religion, as to the impulse which set in motion the mightiest force which the human race has known, and which throughout the ages and in countless forms has guided the thoughts and moulded the life of nations. Can history reveal anything regarding this momentous event? Do the early chapters of Genesis give an authoritative account of its primitive conditions? What has the science of archæology to say as to the life of our earliest forefathers? Or, in the absence of direct information, which of the hypotheses which has been built up on philosophical foundations is best verified by the facts of history and observation? The earliest theories, which, on account of their crudity or insufficient basis of fact, are now generally discarded, having been shortly described, we have a lengthened exposition and criticism of the animistic theory in its various forms as represented by Tylor, Spencer, Caspari, and Schultze. The weaknesses of the anthropological position are shrewdly indicated, more particularly in reference to the assumption that non-civilised tribes of the present day may be taken as exemplifying a stage through which every race however civilised has at some time passed. Without this assumption it is obvious that it would be of no avail to reason from the ideas and customs of savages to those of primitive mankind, and to find in the Animism or ancestor worship of the former the key to the whole religious development. But the absence of history or tradition in these cases does not make it less a truth that even these tribes have a past which must be taken into account, and that nowhere is the power of custom so absolute and tyrannical as among them.

Opposed to the anthropologists are the mythologists, of which Max Müller is the most distinguished representative. Founding his theory not so much upon what we know of the lowest races of mankind as upon the earliest that we know of an afterwards highly

developed race, Max Müller finds in man's instinctive perception of an element of infinity accompanying every sense impression, and the suggestive working upon this of the various aspects and phenomena of nature, the explanation of the origin and growth of religious experience. It is proper to notice here that in his Gifford Lectures he has modified his definition of religion in deference to criticisms which had been passed upon it. For the simple "perception of the infinite" he now substitutes "a perception of the infinite under such manifestations as are able to influence the moral character of man." De la Saussaye's criticism of Max Müller's position practically amounts to showing that the theory is not of universal application, and that this is indeed scarcely claimed by its author. As between the rival schools he holds *more suo* the even balance. "We believe that the key to the problem regarding the origin of religion lies neither with the animists nor the mythologists; the explanations of each school, however, though not applicable to the whole, account for certain series and groups of phenomena, and are therefore not useless, though only to be accepted within the limits which they mutually determine."

The concluding sections of the General Division treat of the classification of religions, both genealogical and morphological, and of its chief forms such as Animism, Fetichism, Polytheism, Henotheism, and Monotheism. The apparent omission of Pantheism is due to its being regarded as more philosophical in its character than religious; while the point most deserving of attention in this connection is the extremely inconvenient diversity of meaning attached by different writers to the term Henotheism.

Between the general and the main or historical portions of this work there is interposed a Phenomenological Division which will be found not to yield in instruction or interest to any of the others. In it the writer breaks comparatively new ground. It is evident that one of the uses of a reliable history of religion in the various forms it has assumed is to serve as a groundwork for the classification of its phenomena, and that this in turn must form the basis and means of verification for an adequate study of its psychology. Now that so large an amount of well-sifted material for the first of these tasks has been made available, it is possible to attack the others with some degree of success. The headings of a phenomenological scheme have been given by M. Goblet d'Alviella in his *Introduction à l'Histoire Générale des Religions*, and some of its sections have been well treated by Réville in his *Prolegomena of the History of Religions*; but this portion of De la Saussaye's Manual is more complete in its range than either of these, while it is more objective in its method than the latter. The various objects of worship from sacred stones to the gods of the most elaborate mythologies; the

forms of worship from magic and divination to prayer and sacrifice ; the accompaniments of worship, such as music, dancing, fasting, and lustration ; sacred places, times, and persons ; the constitution of the religious community ; the function of scriptures and other religious writings ; the chief forms of religious teaching, including mythology, philosophical speculation, and dogmatic definition ; and, finally, the relation of religion to morality and art—are the subjects here discussed and illustrated. Nor is the capability of the book for furthering this most useful study exhausted by the sections professedly devoted to it in this Phenomenological Division, for the index at the close of the second volume has been specially constructed to facilitate the tracing of analogous phenomena through the more extended treatment of the various religions in the main portion of the work.

As this book is emphatically a *guide* to the subject of which it treats, whether it be used as an adjunct to the prelections of the class-room, or as a foundation for independent investigation, a word must be said as to the Bibliographical introductions with which most of the sections are furnished. These are in accordance with the practical purpose of the work as a whole. The lists of books of reference are selections, and, while full, are not intended to be exhaustive. They are in every case brought down to date, and, what is not the least valuable feature, they are accompanied by discriminative notices which point out the best sources of information, and indicate wherein their respective merits consist. The want of some such guide has been extensively felt. It is supplied in some measure in the French translation, practically a new edition, of Tiele's Outlines, but, after comparing Tiele's Bibliographical paragraphs in several instances with those of De la Saussaye, we are of opinion that the latter will be found the more practically useful.

The field opened up by such works as the present is one not only of the greatest interest, but of wide-reaching importance. More than ever it is felt that the whole course of religious development must be taken into account in the adjustment of those problems which present themselves to our minds and hearts to-day. And more than ever it is apparent that the religions of the past must be sympathetically studied, not regarded merely as exploded superstitions, as darkening and degrading influences, but in some degree as the working, however obscurely, of the divine life in the heart of man, as the struggle with error and sin of the "light which lighteth every man coming into the world." If they had their corruptions, we are not free of them ; if our faith has its guiding and sustaining powers, they were not destitute of these.

"The unseen Power, whose eye
For ever doth accompany mankind,
Hath looked on no religion scornfully
That men did ever find.

Which has not taught weak wills how much they can ?
 Which has not fallen on the dry heart like rain ?
 Which has not cried to sunk, self-weary man :
Thou must be born again !"

The "cry" has had very various degrees of distinctness and efficacy ; but the "lifting power" of religion must have been present and made itself felt, for it, is on that mainly that its permanence depends.

ALEXANDER STEWART.

Die Bücher Richter und Samuel, ihre Quellen und ihre Aufbau. The Books of Judges and Samuel: their Sources and Structure.

By Dr Karl Budde, Professor of Theology in Strassburg. Giessen : Ricker ; Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. viii. 276. Price M. 7.50.

It is an encouraging feature of German criticism that the process of disintegrating the books of the Bible has latterly made way for one of reconstruction. Of this tendency Dr Budde's last book is a good example. He has not discovered any new "authors." He has simply tried to shew with greater precision how much belongs to each of those whom his predecessors have discovered. His book is not a commentary in the ordinary sense of the word, his aim being a much more restricted one than that which commentators generally set before themselves. Dr Budde attempts nothing more than to shew that the principal documents which run all through the books of Judges and Samuel are those most familiar to students of the Pentateuch, viz., J and E, and that, further, there has been a Deuteronomistic editing both of Judges and of Samuel. These general lines are, of course, familiar enough to students of Old Testament criticism, and some critics, in following them out, have gratified their fondness for learned names by speaking not merely of the Hexateuch, but of the Octateuch.

The opening sentences of Dr Budde's work shew that the author writes from the standpoint of the advanced critical school. As is to be expected of anything from the author of the now well-known "*Biblische Urgeschichte*," every page of the book bears testimony to accurate scholarship and patient industry. In the Preface we are told that this is practically a "Preliminary Study" in view of a complete Introduction to the Old Testament on which Dr Budde is presently engaged. If the Introduction is to be on anything like the same scale as this essay, it will be a most exhaustive and, indeed, colossal work. Unfortunately, like much of what is written by

German scholars, this book will be read almost exclusively by specialists. These will, as a matter of course, find a good deal of old matter in it. Still even for them it will prove not only interesting but profitable, for it gives a fresh setting to what is old, and states logically and clearly what is new.

The first section of Judges (chap. i.-ii. 5) is submitted to a most minute examination, the main result of which is that the chief strata of this section are declared to belong to the Jehovist (J). It is impossible to follow Budde into any detailed comparison of the parallel passages of Joshua. We may, however, mention one historical conclusion to which he comes, although, indeed, his veteran colleague in the professoriate at Strassburg, Dr Reuss, reached it long ago, viz., that Adonibezek, after having his thumbs and great toes cut off, did not die in the hands of his foes, but was successfully rescued by his friends, and carried off in triumph to Jerusalem, the impregnable citadel that successfully defied all the assaults of Judah. How elaborate Dr Budde's analysis of this brief but historically important section is, may be inferred from the fact that it takes up some ninety pages, or about a third of the whole book.

As to the main division of Judges (chaps. ii.-xvi.), the usual theory is adopted that an older "book of Judges" is traceable throughout. But this older book has been set in a new "frame," which the Editor gives us in chap. ii. 11-19. Both from its religious standpoint and its diction this "frame" is clearly Deuteronomistic. The Editor treated the various narratives, which he fitted into this frame of his, in a great variety of ways. Only one seems entirely due to himself, viz., the history of Othniel, which is, to the frame, what a typical example is to a theorem. This Editor undoubtedly belonged to the tribe of Judah. The original number of the Judges seems to have been twelve, five major and seven minor, twelve and forty being the author's favourite round numbers. The mention of Shamgar is regarded as due to an Editor who considered that Abimelech's conduct rendered him unworthy of so honourable a title as that of Judge. This Editor accordingly struck Abimelech off the roll, and, finding Shamgar honourably mentioned in Deborah's song, he inserted the last verse of the third chapter, and thus made up the number of Judges again to twelve.

By way of illustrating how archaeological research may throw light, for some minds, on passages of Scripture that are very dark to them, we may mention an ingenious interpretation which Wetzstein gives of Shamgar's Samson-like feat of slaying the six hundred Philistines with an ox-goad. He states that some tribes south of Damascus put the ox-goad on their monuments as a symbol for the peasantry as a class. It may, he thinks, be used in Judges to indicate that the peasants, with Shamgar at their head, and without

any help either from the nobles or the inhabitants of the towns, rose against their Philistine oppressors and inflicted on them a memorable defeat.

Deborah's song Budde regards as the oldest continuous document we now possess. He maintains that it is unquestionably the work of a contemporary, and, although poetry, is far more trustworthy, even as regards historical data, than the prose narrative of chapter iv. He does not, however, think that Deborah wrote the song herself, or that she and Barak actually sung it. The tradition he explains as arising out of a very natural misunderstanding of v. 12, "Awake, awake, Deborah : awake, utter a song."

The individual histories in this book and its appendices are so numerous that it is impossible to follow Dr Budde through his analysis of them. Suffice it to say that he generally finds a double narrative, one of which he makes out to belong to J and the other to E.

The books of Samuel are likewise submitted to a searching analysis, and with a similar result. To E, for example, is due the account of Saul being chosen king at Mizpah. In this narrative Samuel is the Judge of all Israel, governing the nation in the name of Jehovah. Hence before a king can be appointed, the power has to be wrested out of Samuel's hands. According to this account, the national condition of Israel is one of great prosperity. To J, on the other hand, is due the account of Saul being chosen king at Gilgal. Samuel is, according to this narrative, a "Roeh," living quietly in the country as a private citizen. In his capacity as "Seer" he anoints Saul, and then leaves things to take their own course, although the land is suffering grievously from Philistine oppression. All through the books of Samuel, J forms a practically continuous narrative. The threads of E's narrative Budde succeeds in unravelling up to the time of Saul's death. Here E suddenly breaks off, and Budde has been unable to detect any further trace of him.

The most intricate part of Budde's theory is the number of Editors through whose hands the combined works of J and E had to pass before they reached their present form. He requires no fewer than three (*cf.* pages 164, 165, &c.), but how he comes to know what each of the three did, is a question hard to answer. His senses seem to become so preternaturally keen that, to use a German proverb, he is able "to hear the grass growing." Now it is not because critics are so marvellously acute that ordinary minds fail to comprehend their theories. They still differ so widely among themselves that cautious scholars may well hesitate before coming to a definite conclusion. As to the main facts of Old Testament Introduction it is undeniable that critics are more at one than they formerly were, but it is equally undeniable that they still

differ as widely as ever on many details of the highest moment. Of this conflict of opinion we shall give but two examples. Psalm xviii. is the only psalm of which Dr Schultz of Göttingen admits the Davidic authorship. This very psalm which occurs also in 2 Samuel chap. xxii., Budde declares cannot, by any possibility, have been written by David. The portrait its author draws of himself has no resemblance whatsoever to the picture we get of David in the books of Samuel. In these books nothing is so much insisted on as David's grievous sin and his heart-felt penitence. But in Psalm xviii., especially from verse 21 onwards, the author proclaims his consciousness of having shown himself upright, obedient to Jehovah's law, and a man of stainless purity. "The Lord rewarded me according to my righteousness, according to the cleanness of my hands hath he recompensed me." While discussing the elegy of Saul and Jonathan, Budde makes an admission that ought to be more frequently borne in mind both by himself and by many other critics. After acknowledging that the poem must be very old, he adds, "Whether a critic will acknowledge that it was written by David *depends more on psychological than on literary or critical considerations*," which is precisely what many of the orthodox assert, although they put a rather different meaning into the phrase "psychological considerations." So variously do these psychological considerations work that historians like Duncker deny, while scholars like Reuss and Stade maintain the Davidic authorship of this elegy. With such striking instances of diverse judgments before us, we cannot but admit that the day for dogmatism on many critical questions has not yet dawned. So long as trained experts differ thus widely, the uninitiated will do well to keep their minds open. In Scotland this cautious disposition is at present specially desirable, and it is to be hoped that the unbiassed study of such books as this of Budde will tend to foster such a disposition.

J. A. PATERSON.

A Christian Apology.

*By Paul Schanz, D.D., D.Ph. Translated from German into English.
Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. Demy 8vo. Price not stated.*

THE second volume of this work, of which the first instalment was noticed in our last, has made its appearance. Its subject is *God and Revelation*, and, as previously indicated, its pages are largely devoted to discussions on topics connected with the comparative science of religion, and with the main issues raised by Bible criticism. The author enters on the subject of ethnic religion with the conviction that the religious history of the world points to a primi-

tive revelation. He regards heathenism as a preparation for Christianity, while refusing to see in Christianity only the natural outcome and purely human development of heathen religions. The apologetic gain to be derived from the study, in his view, is that it enables one to see the superior and supreme excellence of the Christian faith. While firmly maintaining this position, however, he is far from taking a pessimistic view of the religions of the world. The account given of these religions is, on the whole, kindly, and withal very readable and interesting. They are ranged under three heads: the religions of the Indo-Germanic race, including the Hindus, the Iranians, the Greeks, the Romans, and the Teutons; the religions of the Hamites and Semites, including the Chinese, the Japanese, the Egyptians, the Semites, and the Arabs; and finally the religions of uncivilized peoples.

The author's attitude towards modern critical views on the Old Testament literature is, as was to be expected of a catholic theologian, decidedly hostile. He holds the traditional view of the Pentateuch, and does his best to refute the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis. He is, however, candid enough to admit that the old theory is not without its difficulties. "A later influence is not to be always (e.g., in Deuteronomy) point blank denied. There are some good Catholic commentators in France who consider the second parts of Isaiah more recent than the first, and relegate Daniel to the second century, because, on this head, the Church has pronounced no decisions. On the whole, however, the history constructed on the Wellhausen hypothesis is far less satisfactory than that set forth in so natural a way by the sacred writers," (p. 188).

Among the topics falling within the scope of the author's plan in this part of his work are Revelation, Reason and Revelation, Miracles, Prophecy, Inspiration. These are handled in the good old Catholic fashion, with learning, intelligence, and force, and yet in a way that must fail to interest readers acquainted with modern apologetics, the point of view being for the most part antiquated. Protestants of a strongly conservative turn, however, will find in the chapters treating of these topics much to their taste. It almost looks as if, ere long, the only apologetic works in which conservative Protestants will find any satisfaction will be those provided by Catholic authors. In the preface to the English translation of the work before us, Dr Schobel as good as says this. Having alluded to the "rationalistic" tendency of modern Biblical criticism as a just cause of concern both to Catholics and to Protestants, he characterises the apologetic efforts of leading men among the latter as "terms of surrender." As instances in point, he cites: Mr Horton's *Inspiration and the Bible*, Mr Gore's Essay in *Lux Mundi* on the *Holy Spirit and Inspiration*, and Dr Sanday's *Lectures on the Oracles of God*.

To these sentiments the "Fraternal Union" of thirty, and those like-minded, will say Amen, and we are sure that they will find Dr Schanz's Apology much more to their taste than any of the three writings above named. Of course there are incidental drawbacks in this catholic apologetic for any one brought up in the Protestant faith, such, for example, as the inclusion of the Apocryphal books in the Canon of the Old Testament, and the recognition of the authority of the Church as the supreme guide in the interpretation of Scripture.

A. B. BRUCE.

La vie future d'après l'enseignement de Jésus-Christ.

Par C. Bruston. Paris: Librairie Fishbacher. Price 2.50.

"The Eschatology of the Gospels" would have been a more exact title for M. Bruston's latest contribution to Biblical Theology, since not more than a quarter of the work deals, strictly speaking, with our Lord's teaching concerning the future life. The author is careful to warn us that the results of his investigation do not harmonise with the recognised doctrines of the Church, nor even—which is a much more serious matter—with the teaching of St Paul. Like Luther, however, in a similar case, he appeals from the servant to the Master, from the epistles to the gospels. This attitude of M. Bruston suggests more than one difficulty, which the progress of New Testament Theology has rendered it imperative for the Church to face and, if possible, to solve. Is the teaching of St Paul in all respects consistent with the teaching of the gospels? Or, assuming the genuineness of all the Pauline Epistles, is St Paul in every respect consistent with himself? If the answers to these questions be in the negative, then which are we to follow—the gospels or the epistles? If the latter, shall it be the earliest or the latest?

But to return, M. Bruston finds that the Church has departed to an alarming extent from the teaching of her Founder with respect to the following three doctrines, not one of which was taught in the form in which it is now held by the Church, namely the resurrection of the body, the return of Christ to the earth in His own person, and the last judgment. In dealing with the first of these, our author starts from the question of the Sadducees concerning the resurrection-life (Matt. xxii. 23-33, and *parl. pass.*), but many will hesitate before accepting the conclusions which he draws from these and similar passages. Thus we are told that Jesus never speaks of the resurrection of the dead in general—not even in John v. 28 f.—but always of the resurrection "from the dead" (*ék*

νεκρῶν, Luke xx. 35, Mark xii. 25), that is, of the resurrection of a certain portion of the dead, namely "the just" (Luke xiv. 14). After so emphatic a statement, the reader is surprised to find that, in the passage of St Matthew above referred to, our Lord's words are περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῶν νεκρῶν κτλ. One naturally expects to find some explanation of the discrepancy, but none is forthcoming.

This resurrection of the just, moreover, is not a corporeal but a spiritual resurrection, and takes place immediately after death. It is a mistake to think of it as an event which is to take place once for all at the end of the world—an improbable catastrophe nowhere foretold by our Lord; it is rather an ever-recurring event, as universal in the past and in the present as death itself. The Old Testament saints and all who since then have fallen asleep in Jesus have already experienced this, their only, resurrection. It follows from this that Paul was altogether wrong and that Hymenæus and Philetus were right after all, when they said "that a resurrection is past already." Such, at least, seems to me the only inference we can draw from M. Bruston's results.

One of M. Bruston's arguments for the possibility of pardon after death strikes me as new in this connection. He starts from the continued possession by the saints in heaven of their freedom of will, "*cet appanage inaliénable de l'être moral.*" This freedom, he argues, implies the possibility of sin: on sin must follow exclusion from the presence of God, and the passing of the "great gulf" of the familiar parable. "Why," he then asks, "should not the converse be equally true? Why, if a sinner repent, should he not in like wise be brought by the divine power from the abode of pain to the abode of bliss? This, assuredly, is impossible for all created beings, but not for God" (p. 21).

The second part of M. Bruston's work is less revolutionary. Indeed, to my mind, the most valuable part of the book is the sober and learned investigation of the figurative language of the gospel eschatology in chapters iv. and v., for until we can settle what is figure and what is not, a forward movement in this department is impossible. The author's conclusions may best be stated in his own words: "The second coming of Jesus, His coming in glory for judgment, is thus nothing else but the influence of the glorified Christ on the world. This influence is exercised in two ways, the one visible for us: namely, the extension of Christianity in the world, of which the first disciples were already the witnesses; the other invisible: namely, the judgment which the glorified Christ pronounces on all men at the moment of death. The latter must of necessity be what Jesus meant by His *parousia*" (p. 88).

I have said enough to indicate the general drift of M. Bruston's

investigations. To say that the work is by a cultivated Frenchman is to say that the style is lucid and graceful; frequent *résumés* assist the reader more clearly to note the progress of the argument; and, however perilous we may sometimes find the author's exegesis, his book deserves a careful study as the contribution of one of the most scholarly teachers of the French Protestant Church to the discussion of a great and difficult theme.

ARCHD. R. S. KENNEDY.

Essais Bibliques.

Par Maurice Vernes. Paris: Ernest Leroux. 8vo, pp. xiv., 372.
Price F. 3.50.

M. MAURICE VERNES is the Bruno Bauer of Old Testament criticism. In other words, he is the leader of the extreme left; he is also the rank and file of the party, and the preface to his "Biblical Essays" is its latest manifesto. I observed the other day a distinguished literary critic sneering at the reviewer who composes a column of "copy" out of the "prefaces of new books which he has not read." He overlooks the possibility of a preface giving, as in the case before us, the author's more mature judgment on the topics treated of in the body of the work. M. Vernes' essays—which the present reviewer has considered it his melancholy duty to read, notwithstanding the accommodating preface—are eight in number, and have already appeared in various magazines, which accounts for the numerous repetitions to be noticed in the volume. They all bear more or less directly on Hebrew history and literature, and advocate a radical reform in Biblical, and especially Old Testament studies. They are, in short, a vigorous indictment of the methods of Old Testament criticism at present in vogue, not, however, in the interest of the traditional views. On the contrary, the critics most in repute, Kuenen at their head, are still in the bondage of traditionalism. They have been unable to free themselves from the leading-strings of the synagogue. M. Vernes shows them in these essays how to compass their critical emancipation, and how henceforth to walk alone. (See the preface and the essay: Method in Biblical Literature.) The result of this *Aufklärung* is to bring the whole of Old Testament literature below the exile, and to render it worthless as a history of the Hebrew people. The following is M. Vernes' latest arrangement of the literary puzzle (preface, p. ix.):—

- (1) The *Proto-hexateuch* composed from 400 (or 450) to 300 B.C.
- (2) The historical books composed from 350 to 250 B.C.
- (3) The prophetic books composed from 300 to 200 B.C.
- (4) The traditional hexateuch completed about 200 B.C.

This scheme is more elastic, and even less extreme, than that given in the essay on the date of the Bible. The essay on primitive Palestine is, to say the least, disappointing. The story of Genesis xiv. was freely invented in the fourth or third century, a statement entirely at variance with the latest research. By far the best of the essays, and, in my opinion, the only one of permanent value, is the last on the "Pentateuch of Lyon and the ancient Latin translations of the Bible," which originally appeared as a review of M. Ulysse Robert's edition of this interesting codex—the most considerable remnant, excepting, of course, the Latin Psalter, of the pre-Hieronymian versions.

ARCHD. R. S. KENNEDY.

Le Tour d'Orient.

Par Th. Roller. Lausanne : Georges Bridel et Cie. Price 5 fr.

M. ROLLER is a French Protestant clergyman who has been tempted to put on record his impressions of the East—Egypt, Palestine, Turkey. His book is distinguished from most books of similar origin in at least two respects. On the one hand, the author does not fill his pages with halting paraphrases of his guide-books; and, on the other, the inevitable "pious reflections" are not unduly prominent. M. Roller, by the way, is a Frenchman first and a Protestant afterwards. Thus, in his interesting account of the rival educational missions at Beyrout, his sympathies are with the Jesuits who are Frenchmen, rather than with the Americans who are Protestants. The illustrations, excellent reproductions of photographs by the firm of Thevot & Co., Geneva, are much superior to the average engravings in works of this class. The French, I may perhaps add, is not by any means difficult.

ARCHD. R. S. KENNEDY.

Critical Studies in St Luke's Gospel : Its Demonology and Ebionitism.

By Colin Campbell, B.D. Wm. Blackwood & Sons. 8vo, pp. xii., 318. Price 5s.

IN this volume Mr Campbell seeks to demonstrate that it is the aim of the third Gospel to exhibit Jesus "in the process of de-throning the devil and his angels, the demons," and to inculcate the excellence of poverty and the evil of wealth. These aims are inseparably connected, for "the dualistic view of the world which places it under the dominion of Satan, implies condemnation of "the

things of the world." This view of the aim of Luke is not new. Renan, for example, in his most brilliant volume, says "La doctrine de Luc est, on le voit, le pur *Ebionisme*, la glorification de la pauvreté. Selon les Ebionites, Satan, roi du monde, est le grand propriétaire du monde ; il en donne les biens a ses suppôts. Jesus est le prince du monde à venir. Participer aux biens du monde diabolique equivaut à s'exclure de l'autre." To Mr Campbell belongs the merit of exhibiting this characteristic of the Gospel in detail. He shows that it appears in many unsuspected places. To criticise his exegesis in detail is impossible here. There are in his volume pronounced cases of tendency-writing ; instances in which his interpretation is biased by what he expects and wishes to find in the passage. And where an argument is built up of countless small particulars, many of which are by themselves either insignificant or doubtful, it is by no means easy to estimate the value of the whole. Besides, Mr Campbell's volume would have been more convincing, had he replied to the objections raised by Dr Abbott to Keim's ascription of Ebionite tendency to the Gospel of Luke. The reader will also desiderate guidance in endeavouring to ascertain to what extent the Ebionitism of Luke is to be referred to our Lord Himself, and what is the exact difference between the teaching of Luke and a sound doctrine of wealth. Mr Campbell might also have illustrated the doctrinal position of Luke by reference to the Acts of the Apostles. But even though there is more of the advocate than the judge in Mr Campbell's criticism, it must be allowed that he has made out a good case, a case which is *primâ facie* sufficiently strong to call for investigation. And, although his positions may require to be modified, his volume is most welcome as a specimen of the application of critical methods to the literature of the New Testament—an advanced guard which, we trust, foretells the approach of a solid and serviceable body. Mr Campbell's volume will stimulate some to work of a similar kind, and will itself be pleasant reading to all who have any tincture of criticism.

MARCUS DODS.

Der Glaube Jesu Christi und der Christliche Glaube : Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung des Römerbriefes.

*Von Johannes Haussleiter. Erlangen & Leipzig, Deichert.
8vo, pp. 62. Price, .60.*

THIS pamphlet is a reprint of two articles which the author contributed to the February and March numbers of the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*. It is an attempt to answer the question, What is the relation of the faith of Christ to the faith of the Christian ? In the present pamphlet the author uses only the material

furnished by the epistle to the Romans. He believes that in more than one passage of this epistle, where "the faith of Christ" or "the faith of Jesus" is spoken of, the Apostle means not "the faith of the believer in Christ," but Christ's own faith. Thus, in Rom. iii. 26, where we read "the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus," Haussleiter maintains that it is impossible that those who originally received and read this epistle could so understand the words. He further maintains that the quotation from Habakkuk, in chap. i. 17—"the just shall live by faith," is understood by Paul in a Messianic sense. It is, of course, easy to find a good deal that can be used in support of this idea; but a reader not biassed in favour of this interpretation will no doubt feel that the author is rather pressing into his service passages which do not naturally yield the meaning put upon them. It may be quite true, as he says (p. 41), that it is the vocation of modern criticism to penetrate somewhat more deeply into the mystery of our Lord's human development. And certainly his exhibition of the faith of Jesus and of his obedience is both true and welcome. That Jesus was truly man, that He prayed because dependent as we are, and that He thus became the leader in faith, is generally understood. And it is also understood that, in an intelligible sense, we are saved by His faith. Haussleiter's words will be accepted when he says: "As Jesus hangs on the cross, the eye of God is directed towards Him. It is the hour when the fate of man is decided. The first Adam fell in Paradise: will the second maintain his faith on the cross? Will His obedience bridge the frightful chasm which has opened between God and Him? He alone measured its width: He who before had been with the Father, and now hung on the tree as a curse. . . . Then learned Jesus obedience by His sufferings: then He became the beginner and finisher of our faith." This is good and true, but few will follow our author in reading this into the words "whom God set forth as a propitiation *through faith*." It is not his doctrine but his exegesis that is at fault.

MARCUS DODS.

1. Der Römerbrief beurtheilt und geviertheilt. Eine Kritische Untersuchung.

Von Carl Hessedamm. Erlangen & Leipzig, Deichert. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii., 100. Price M. 1.20.

2. Romans Dissected. A Critical Analysis of the Epistle to the Romans.

By E. D. M'Realsham. T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 100. Price 2s. WHO it is who makes this "real sham" we do not know. We do not even know, although perhaps a skilful critic might determine,

whether the author is German or English. The English essay is not a mere translation of the German, nor is the German a mere translation of the English. They are both from the same hand and follow the same lines, but each freely and independently of the language of the other. Although the English edition has every appearance of having been printed abroad, we should suppose the author, familiar as he is with the German language, is yet more familiar with English.

The intention of the writer is to burlesque the dissection of the Pauline epistles which has come to be so much in vogue in Germany. He shows how easy it is to select certain phrases and erect them into criteria of authorship, and on the ground of their occurrence or non-occurrence to distribute an epistle among various supposed authors. This parody he has carried out with most admirable industry, with considerable cleverness, and with critical power that might have been employed, perhaps, to better purpose. For clever as the *jeu d'esprit* is, it will scarcely be read. At least in this country, the original dissections of Steck and others have scarcely taken serious hold of the public mind, and to burlesque them is superfluous and premature. Probably not twenty persons in this country have waded through Völter's wearisome, though brief, essay on the composition of the chief Pauline Epistles; and if so, why thrust into public notice an essay which is its own best refutation? The expenditure of critical capacity, which undoubtedly has gone to the writing of these brochures, and the knowledge of the two languages in which they are written, might have given to the English public some such useful tractate on the same subject as Gloël's *Die jüngste Kritik des Galaterbriefes*. The writer is capable of good work, and good work is greatly needed in New Testament criticism.

MARCUS DODS.

The Apology of Aristides.

Edited and translated by J. Rendel Harris, M.A., with an Appendix by J. Armitage Robinson, M.A. Cambridge University Press. 1891. 8vo, pp. vii, 118 and 28. Price 5s. net.

FIRST, a word as to the important series of which this is the first instalment. "Texts and Studies: Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature" is a title which recalls at once the *Texte und Untersuchungen* of Gebhardt and Harnack, and the *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica*, the volumes of Oxford Essays which are edited by Dr Sanday. The new venture of Cambridge scholarship partakes more of the scope and character of the former series of elaborate

monographs, than of the latter collection of studies and reviews—though the distinction cannot be pressed throughout. It is a sign of the revived interest in the scientific study of Church History, which is so promising a feature of the time. And is it too much to hope that we may find in men who have doubtless been formed under Lightfoot, but who start a generation later, a blending of his painstaking scholarship and *primâ facie* regard for ancient tradition in its best representatives, with the sensitive eye for all that is meant by *Dogmengeschichte*, which distinguishes the best German scholars?

The other numbers belonging to the volume of which "Aristides" is the first part, are to be, "The Passion of Perpetua, with the Original Latin of the Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs," by the editor, Mr J. Armitage Robinson; "The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church," by Mr F. H. Chase; "The Fragments of Heracleon," by Mr A. E. Brooke. There are also in preparation, "The Testament of Abraham," "A Study of Codex Bezaë," and "The Witness of Hermas to the Four Gospels." All this is excellent. But few items are likely to eclipse in value the present work. It has received prompt notice from Harnack, and it is welcome for many reasons.

In the spring of 1889, Professor Harris, when on a tour of discovery in the East, came upon a MS., No. 16 in the Syriac MSS. of the Convent of St Catharine on Mount Sinai, written in two columns to the page, and dating from about the seventh century. "The book is made up of a number of separate treatises and extracts, almost all of which are ethical in character."

Among these there comes, fifth in order, the "Apology of Aristides," hitherto known only in the form of an Armenian Fragment, published of recent years at Venice. Comparison with the Syriac now shows the latter to be largely revised and expanded. It is still of value, however, for textual criticism, as coming direct from a Greek, not a Syriac form; though both it and our Syriac have a point of contact short of the original Greek, inasmuch as they show at least one corruption (ch. ii. fin.) in common. But this does not exhaust our materials for the true text. For Harris's find led, in a romantic fashion, to the discovery by Mr Robinson of the Apology embedded, as the speech of Nachor, in the "Life of Barlaam and Josaphat"—a religious romance in Greek, based on the Indian legend of Buddha, and which, though connected in tradition with John of Damascus (among whose works it is found in Migne, tom. xcvi.), "may well go back to the sixth century" at least. Of this Greek form Harnack says that, "though in details abbreviated to suit its time, and here and there expanded," it corresponds *substantially* with the autograph, and thereby shows that the Syriac (which is "half as long again as the Greek") is not a strict translation, but,

like the Armenian, a free paraphrase. On the whole then, where, as in the two important opening chapters, we have the three independent sources before us, the text can be fairly reconstructed. Moreover, the other versions of "Barlaam and Josaphat" are available to check the Greek form, a critical text of which will be the next desideratum. But where A. is lacking we cannot be so sure. For, generally speaking, "G. is abbreviated, but here and there expanded; while S. is expanded, but here and there abbreviated." Neither has a constant character. Accordingly Harnack has not so high an estimate of G. as it stands, as has its editor. He recognises that not a few passages peculiar to S. are intrinsically probable, and the reasons of omission in G. are evident. His final canon, therefore, here runs as follows:—"Where G. and S. agree, trustworthiness of transmission is as a rule to be recognised: where they differ, G. is preferable, unless the divergence can be traced to the special aim of the romancer. Where S. supplies more than G., the *præjudicium* exists, that S. has introduced the addition, except where the contents of the old Apology have become to the romancer of the seventh century too archaic, and hence uninteresting (this applies specially to ch. xv.). In many cases a trustworthy text of the Apology cannot as yet be constructed."

But the most remarkable result of this find—which in some respects is a sort of second *Didaché*—is the change in chronology which it necessitates. Here Harris and Harnack are at one, as against Robinson, who (in the inevitable absence of G.) tends to accept A.'s title "Imperatorī Cæsari Hadriano," as having the support of Eusebius. The opening in the Syriac is given by Harnack as follows:—*Deinde apologia, quam Aristides philosophus fecit coram Hadriano rege pro cultu dei. Omnipotenti Cæsari Tito Hadriano Antonino Augustis et Clementibus a Marciano Aristide philosopho Atheniensi.* Here the full name of the apologist seems a water-mark of truth, as against Robinson. Then passing by the "mere literary heading" (probably affixed by Eusebius' day), the first *crux* is "omnipotenti," which Harris thinks should be made (against S.'s punctuation) to go with God, holding that even though the S. meant to represent *αὐτοκράτωρ*, Antoninus could not be styled Emperor as well as Cæsar. Now not only is "Imperatorī Cæsari" found in A. (both MSS.), but Harnack assures us that Mommsen finds the title formally correct, when the following obvious changes have, as Harris suggests, been made:—(1) the plurals, "*Augustis*," "*Clementibus*," are due to the translator's taking the several names to refer to more than one person: (2) "*et*" must be erased as contrary to usage: (3) *Clemens* represents *Pius*, which then rightly follows *Augustus*.

The upshot therefore is, that it was to Antoninus Pius, in whose name "Hadrian" also occurred, not to Ælius Hadrian, the "Hadrian"

of history, that Aristides addressed his Apology. Without doing more than mention Harnack's impromptu suggestion, that similarly the Trajan, to whose reign tradition refers the martyrdom of Ignatius, was really Trajanus Hadrian, we may notice that the new date fits in with the notice of Melito (Eus., *H. E.*, iv. 26. 10) "that Antoninus Pius did actually write to Athens to suppress (illegal) persecution of the Christians." As to the place of presentation, Harnack is very dubious of Harris's ingenious advocacy of Smyrna.

But what of Quadratus, the traditional *alter ego* of Aristides on the basis of Eusebius in his *Chronicon* and *History*? Harris is inclined, on independent grounds, to accept Jerome's identification of the apologist with Quadratus, Bishop of Athens "in the reign of Antoninus Pius." He feels the freer so to do, now that the proved confusion in the name Hadrian would clear up Jerome's obvious clash with the dating of that Bishop implied in Dionysius' reference to him (Eus., iv., 23. 2.) He thinks that ἀποστόλων ἀκουστής, applied by Eusebius to Quadratus, cannot militate against this view; in that the words "are an evident deduction from the passage which Eusebius quotes from the Apology about the sick people healed by the Lord, 'some of whom continued down to our times.'" But we are glad to find that Harnack refuses here to put aside Eusebius so lightly. For he had certainly read Quadratus; while this is by no means clear as to Aristides, whom he mentions as a mere ditto, though read "even to the present day by a great many persons." Thus we regard as sound an earlier remark of Harris, that "the correct reference to Hadrian for Quadratus' Apology would have furnished a starting-point for the incorrect reasoning with regard to Aristides." May we not add that, to address two apologies to the same emperor on the same occasion, would seem, *a priori*, an unnecessary risk? If, therefore, we had to choose between the known bearers of so common a name, a case could be made for the "prophet" Quadratus, writing of the troubles under Serennius Gracianus—the very "prophetic" character of whose work might well make it fail to maintain its position in the Church.

Be all this as it may, we have here a fresh glimpse into the life and faith of Christians prior to the stage represented by Justin's Apology.

The work consists of seventeen chapters. After an *exordium* (i.) on the God of Providence or Natural Theology, Aristides (ii.) classifies men according to their possession of the truth as to God, into three (G.) or four (A. and S.) races (γένη), viz.: Worshipers of so-called Gods (*al.* Barbarians and Greeks), Jews, Christians—a Christological passage here (in G. at ch. xv.) occurring incidentally. Then follows an indictment of Barbarian religion (iii.), which leads to an exposure of all worship of the Creature, *i.e.*, the elements (iv.-vi.)

and man (vii.). Next the Grecian Olympus is mercilessly lashed, both in general (viii.) and in detail (ix.-xi.); while yet fiercer satire awaits the Egyptian Gods (xii.-xiii., a section which *primâ facie* fits better into the scheme of G.). A description of Judaism (xiv.) leads the way finally to the Christian faith and life (xv.-xvi.), which rises, after a renewed contrast of the false and the true (S.), into the final appeal for its acceptance (xvii.).

But in using our new treasure, we must be more careful to observe the canons already laid down, than is Harris, when he speaks absolutely of "the friendly tone in which the Jews are spoken of"; or exemplifies its "continuity with Jewish ethics" from a passage not in the Greek; or again relies solely on the Syriac for general facts on the part of the Church for the benefit of its poorer members. And the same may be said as to traces of the Apostolic Symbol, e.g., the unusual "He was crucified *by the Jews*." All these points call for fuller discussion; as does also the possible relation of Celsus to Aristides.

Nor must we fail to mention several questions, raised and ably discussed by Robinson in view of the Greek text in particular. For the bearing of the Apology on the Canon, we have, e.g., p. 110, l. 21, (τούτο) ἐκ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς καλουμένης εὐαγγελικῆς [ἀγίας] γραφῆς ἔξεστί σοι γινῶναι, βασιλεῦ, ἐὰν ἐντύχῃς: but "there are no direct quotations from the New Testament, although the Apologist's diction is undoubtedly coloured at times" thereby, especially by the Epistle to the Romans. "The Apology and the Didaché," is another topic, whereby a fresh link in the history of the "Two Ways" seems laid bare. The negative form of the Golden Rule here occurs once again, and this time in a form nearest to Acts xv. 20, 29, in Codex Bezae. Robinson also discusses at length the relation of "Aristides" to the *Preaching of Peter* in the light of the *Sibylline Oracles*, the *Epistle to Diognetus*, and Celsus; and concludes that the latter knew the *Preaching* or our Apology.

It only remains to add that Harris prints the Syriac together with notes; while Robinson gives the Greek according to three MSS., with such variants as are at present accessible, and furnishes a convenient index of Greek words. Altogether it is an *editio princeps* of which Cambridge may justly be proud, and for which all will be sincerely grateful.

VERNON BARTLET.

The Church : Her Ministry and Sacraments.

By Henry J. Van Dyke, D.D., Pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church of Brooklyn. London: Nisbet & Co. Pp. 265. Price 7s. 6d.

WE have in this book of 265 pp. a course of lectures delivered last year at Princeton Theological Seminary. Numerous annotations and an appendix of longer notes have added considerably to the original value of the course. The book contains also a fairly complete index. In the main, the lectures are a popular exposition and defence of the chapters of the Westminster Confession which deal with the church and the sacraments ; but other parts of the Presbyterian church-system are incidentally discussed, sometimes with remarkable freedom. The successive topics are the holy, catholic church, the kingdom of Christ, the unity of the visible church, the church-membership of infants, ordination to the ministry, the Lord's Supper, and the administration of the sacraments. The last lecture is somewhat miscellaneous in character ; which may account for its not preceding the lecture on the Lord's Supper. At all events, with this exception, the order followed is that in which the topics are presented in the Confession. No one can fail to recognise the marked ability of these lectures. The lecturer has established his right to speak on such subjects not only by a long pastoral experience with abundant opportunities of studying and testing principles, but by a careful study of recent English and American literature. He would have added largely to the value of his lectures on the kingdom of Christ and the holy, catholic church, if he had been equally well acquainted with German literature on the doctrine of the church and its relation to the kingdom of God. Most of these lectures have the charm that lies in definiteness of thought, clearness of exposition, and vigour of style. Dr Van Dyke's criticism, while it is always trenchant, is apt to be a trifle too dogmatic. "The eternal fitness of things" is not a convincing argument when "proof texts are not conclusive." Surely in default of conclusive Scriptural proof that none but "a minister of the word lawfully ordained" may administer the sacraments, it would have been more reasonable to treat this principle as merely a matter of church order. But Dr Van Dyke's views of the church, the ministry, and the sacraments are "high," as he thinks, in the sense in which the doctrine of the Confession is so. Of course, he has absolutely no sympathy with what he aptly calls "mechanical religion." No one would contend more strenuously than he for the inwardness of true religion. But though he has read Dr Walker's *Scottish Theology and Theologians* he does not appear to have realised the serious danger of externalis-

ing religion that lies in the Confessional doctrine of the visible church. The Confession certainly stops short of Dr Van Dyke's statement that the Holy Spirit was "given to the visible church at her inauguration on the day of Pentecost as a permanent endowment." And how shall we characterise the statement that "there is no essential difference between the definitions of the visible church given by Christians of all denominations, except that which relates to the supremacy of the Pope"? Dr Van Dyke is quite aware of the "fatal imposture and force of words," and yet he is ready to run risks with such expressions as "sacramental grace," the "grace of orders," and "apostolic succession." On the other hand his views of church government, and of worship, are much less rigid than those held by the Westminster divines. The *jus divinum* of Presbyterianism is summarily dismissed as inconsistent with a candid interpretation and application of the first chapter of the Confession. "The puritan principle, that nothing is to be permitted in our worship which is not expressly commanded or sanctioned in Scripture, is itself contrary to both the examples and the precepts of Scripture." He is so impressed with the importance of the unity of the church that he is prepared within limits to subordinate to it differences in church-government and worship, and even in doctrine. He would accept the Lambeth proposals as the basis of reunion, if only the "historic episcopate" could be held as not implying that diocesan bishops are the sole depositaries of the grace of orders and the exclusive channels of its transmission. The least satisfactory of all the lectures is that on the "holy, catholic church." The relation between the visible and the invisible church is perplexed rather than explained. They are not two churches but one church under two distinct characters, one organism in two aspects; and yet he contends that "the visible church is just as much a true church as the invisible." Nay, the visible church is externally united to Christ for the sake of the invisible; and, again, this "mixed society" of real and nominal Christians "is the true Church." This is just the see-saw so common in Protestant books on the doctrine of the Church. The surprising thing is to find it in an aggravated form in one who can be so clear in thought and statement as Dr Van Dyke. The mischief comes from that low view of the visible church which finds its essential character in the mere profession of the true religion, a view which our author practically assumes and then proceeds to defend. The invisible church is to him a purely dogmatic conception; he has forgotten to explain its practical value. Here at least, and the remark has other applications, Dr Van Dyke raises more questions than he settles.

JAMES ROBERTSON.

Presbyterian Forms of Service.

Issued by the Devotional Service Association in connection with the United Presbyterian Church. Edinburgh, 1891. Price 2s. 6d. net.

THIS little work is one of the many evidences that there is a general and growing conviction among the ministers of almost all branches of the Presbyterian Church on both sides of the Atlantic that the subject of the order and methods of Public Worship demands at present special consideration and study. This conviction is combined, on the part of those who have hitherto come forward in the movement, with a strong belief in the duty and privilege of free prayer in the public worship of God, and a resolute opposition to anything in the least approaching to a compulsory liturgy such as we have in the Anglican and Romish Communions.

The views to which we refer were ably represented at the "General Presbyterian Councils" of Philadelphia (1880), Belfast (1884), and London (1888), by such men as the late President Hitchcock of New York, Dr Stalker of Glasgow, Dr Brown of Paisley, the late M. Bersier of Paris, and President Apple of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. The papers and discussions on this subject recorded in the Reports of these Councils are well worthy of being studied.

So far as Scottish Presbyterianism is concerned, the lead in this matter has been taken by the "Church Service Society," founded some twenty-five years ago in connection with the Established Church. Their "Euchologion, or Book of Common Order," published in 1867, is now in its 6th edition, and has had a powerful influence, especially among the younger ministers of the Church. In 1882 was founded the "Devotional Service Association in connection with the United Presbyterian Church," one of whose publications is now before us. In May last a "Worship Association" was formed in connection with the Free Church of Scotland, having for its general object "to promote the ends of edification, order, and reverence in family and social worship, and in the public services of the Church, in accordance with Scripture principles, and in the light especially of the experience and practice of the Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian system."

The little volume before us is avowedly tentative in its character, and should be judged accordingly. As such it deserves cordial commendation. It is a noteworthy contribution towards the right solution of a question which has many sides, and which will require in Scotland long and careful study outside the Church courts before any practical proposals are sufficiently ripened to be submitted, as the preface to these "Forms" suggests, to "the Supreme Court," that it may "wisely and effectually deal with the whole subject."

The object of this work is not to supply prayers and other offices to be read by ministers, but simply to shew by concrete examples what the chief topics and general order of prayer should be under the existing system of public worship in the United Presbyterian Church, and how the various other parts of service, ordinary and special, may be suitably conducted. It is, so far, a shortened and revised edition of the Westminster "Directory for the Public Worship of God," adapted to the present day.

Our limits forbid detailed comments. Generally, we may say that the strong points of this little work are the good sense and sobriety of thought and expression which characterise it as a whole, the evangelical warmth, depth, and reverence which specially mark several of the prayers, the recognition of the place of *silent* prayer, both in the ordinary service of the Lord's Day and at the Communion, the audible repetition of the Lord's Prayer, and of the amen at the close of all the prayers, the congregational response at the Ordination Service, and after the prayer of thanksgiving and consecration at the Lord's Supper, and the repetition of the Apostles' Creed in the service for dedication of a Church. As to minor defects, which we would respectfully commend to the consideration of the editors, in view of a second edition, we may note the occasional use of superfluous epithets and phrases, e.g., "We have *wilfully* done that which thou hast forbidden, and have *selfishly* omitted that which thou hast commanded," where there is an inevitable contrast with the noble simplicity and strength of the corresponding clause in the "General Confession" of the Anglican liturgy. The marriage service is undoubtedly a "crux liturgorum." But the forms given here seem to us to fall below the general level of the book. Let future editors beware of "the chaste espousals of Boaz and Ruth" (p. 107), and a few similar touches scattered through the volume.

D. D. BANNERMAN.

ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΙΚΑΙ ΜΕΛΕΤΑΙ ὑπὸ ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ Π.
 ΜΟΣΧΟΥ Δ.Φ. ἔτος πρῶτον ἀπὸ 1 Ἀπριλίου 1891.
 ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐκ τοῦ τυπογραφείου "ὁ Παλαμήδης," 1891.
 Price 5s. per annum.

WE have before us, under the above title of *Christian Meditations*, the weekly issues since April of a paper published in Athens, and conducted by Dr Xenophon P. Moschow. It is a new venture, and is, we should imagine, quite unique of its kind. The Editor, who is also apparently sole contributor, has been moved by the great dearth which prevails in Greece of anything like evangelical literature, and has adopted this method of setting the great truths

of the Gospel before his countrymen. He does so with uncommon force and clearness, as might be expected of a man who is by religious persuasion a Presbyterian, who has studied theology in Scotland, who is a doctor of philosophy of the University of Athens, and who writes, with no little grace and simplicity of style and with really few deviations from the ancient models, the language of Plato and Paul. As regards the substance of these *Meditations*, they might be sermons of Mr Spurgeon or Mr Moody translated into modern Greek, they are so distinctly evangelical and practical in their character. For instance, we notice that the first and introductory *Meditation* is entitled ὁ Χριστιανισμὸς εἶναι δύναμις (Christianity is power), and the text is taken with special reference to Romans i. 16, "The Gospel of Christ is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." It is interesting to the classical scholar to find Dr Moschow tracing the word εὐαγγέλιον through its meaning of *reward for good tidings* in Homer and the Attic writers, to its meaning of *good tidings* without the idea of reward or gift, which it bears in writers after the times of Alexander the Great, and in the New Testament, where it characterises the blessed truth that "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish but have everlasting life." There is not much of such reference, as Dr Moschow has an intensely practical end in view, but enough to give a classical flavour to his earnest and forcible discourse. Another *Meditation* entitled Θεραπεία τῆς ἀμαρτίας, discourses upon the remedy for sin under these three suggestive heads—1. Διάγνωσις. 2. Θεραπεία. 3. Δίαιτα. There is no need to commend these discourses to English readers for their doctrinal teaching, seeing that we have happily so many preachers who proclaim the old, old story of the Gospel with freshness and power. But we may commend them to scholars as admirable specimens of modern Greek. Addressed as they are to the better educated, they strike the happy mean between the modern Greek style which affects too closely the old Attic models, and the colloquial style of the newspaper. The scholar who has kept up his Greek by occasional dips into Thucydides or Plato or the tragedians, and who is thoroughly versed in his Greek New Testament, would be able to read these Μελέται with his feet on the fender. The author deserves every encouragement in his work. There is no great demand for such teaching in Greece. We observe in an ἀνακοίνωσις on the last page of the first number, that Dr Moschow put off the issue from September to April because of the want of subscribers. We trust his paper is now beyond the tentative stage and fairly on the way to an assured circulation. There must be readers of this *Review* who would be glad to make some acquaintance with modern Greek through such a

pleasant medium, and who would at the same time rejoice to further a cause so worthy. They might intimate their wish to become subscribers (5s. per annum is all) to Mr Charles Robertson, late of the Indian Civil Service, Redfern, Colinton Road, Edinburgh, who has lately made a tour through Greece, and knows Dr Moschow well. If further recommendation of Dr Moschow is necessary, we need only mention that when the late Dr A. N. Somerville preached at Athens and Piræus on his eastern tour in 1884-85, it was Dr Moschow who acted as the venerable evangelist's interpreter.

THOMAS NICOL.

Kanon und Text des Alten Testamentes.

Dargestellt von Dr. Franz Buhl, Ord. Prof. der Theologie zu Leipzig. Leipzig: Akademische Buchhandlung. 1891. Pp. 262. 6 Mk.

It would be difficult to find a more comprehensive, succinct, and lucid digest of the results of recent study of the Old Testament canon and text than is given in this volume. Instead of bewildering us with a crowd of discordant opinions, the author sifts the evidence and indicates the right conclusion. His tone is eminently free and impartial. He is no slave to tradition, and no lover of novelty for its own sake. The discussion in the text is kept clear by the relegation of further references and quotations to supplementary paragraphs. These paragraphs are a perfect mine of exact, detailed information.

The history of the Old Testament canon is traced first among the Jews, and then in the Christian Church. The Jewish portion, again, includes both the Palestinian canon and the Alexandrine "collection" of sacred books. The latter phrase is noteworthy as signalling the absence from Alexandrine Judaism of such a strict view of the canon as obtained in Palestine. The references to the doubts raised about the books of Esther, Canticles and the Preacher are not without interest in relation to modern controversies.

Perhaps the most valuable portion of the book is the one dealing with the history of the text. The information given in brief compass about printed editions, manuscripts, variants, the Massorah, the ancient versions, is of the greatest interest. We would specially note the account of the Massorah and the Alexandrine version. These are models of precise and careful statement. The accounts of the other Greek versions, of the Vulgate, the Syriac version, and the Jewish Targums are only less valuable.

The second section of the second part deals more briefly with the external and internal history of the text, expounding such points as the history of the Hebrew letters, the origin of the vowel-signs and accents, the divisions of the text.

J. S. BANKS.

A Biography of Rev. Henry Ward Beecher.

By Wm. C. Beecher and the Rev. Samuel Scoville, assisted by Mrs Henry Ward Beecher. New and Cheaper Edition. London: Sampson, Low, Marston & Co. 8vo. Pp. 714. Price 10s. 6d.

THIS is a bulky volume of upwards of 700 pages, but considering the scale on which biographies are now written, it cannot be pronounced too large for its subject. The execution of the work is on the whole praiseworthy. Diligence, candour, and a high moral tone are everywhere discernible, but the literary qualities are not equal to the ethical. The style is unaffected and manly, but is deficient in ease, variety, and force. Not the least important part of the duty of the authors was to select from the large store of materials at their command, such passages as would allow Mr Beecher to speak for himself. These have, as a whole, been chosen with sound judgment, but they are sometimes too long, and occasionally introduce points not strictly relevant. But we greatly regret that most of Mr Beecher's letters have been reserved for a separate volume.

The biography will certainly not detract from Mr Beecher's fame. It states hardly anything regarding him which was not more or less known, but it brings out the various aspects of his many-sided character, and sets them in their due place. Like separate stars grouped into a constellation, the different qualities of his nature appear the brighter when put into their true relations. It is, indeed, no common figure which stands out from these pages. A rich, sunny, and versatile nature; a sweet temper; dauntless courage, a vigorous intellect, an exuberant imagination; abounding wit and humour; extraordinary eloquence; a heart burning with love to God and man—such were the chief endowments of Mr Beecher. There is, however, one feature of his character as revealed in the life, which was not fully realised even by his most intimate friends. This man, so sensitive and so confiding, and who felt himself so strengthened by the sympathy of his fellows, bore his injuries and sorrows alone, unwilling to burden the hearts of those who loved him most. With exceeding thoughtfulness and rare self-repression, he resolved that they should remain ignorant of the load he had to carry. He preferred to receive into his own breast the wounds which would else have reached others; he would himself become the victim rather than allow others to suffer. This fact is the key to his actions during that portion of his life known as "The Scandal," and is the explanation of those great but noble errors into which he was then led.

Mr Beecher's father was a distinguished minister, and gave his son the usual education of a student for the ministry. At College

and in the Hall he showed no special aptitude for scholarship, but was unequalled as a speaker and debater. His contemporaries seem to have recognised from the first his extraordinary powers of apt and forcible speech. After licence, he took the first charge which offered itself—the pastorate of a congregation of twenty poor and illiterate members at Lawrenceburg, with a stipend of three hundred dollars. On the eve of his ordination, he married the wife who, throughout his whole career, was a source of such strength and peace to him, and whom he loved with all the passion of his impassioned nature. He laboured upwards of two years in Lawrenceburg, and then accepted a call to Indianapolis, the capital of the State, now a large and flourishing city, but then scarcely more than a village, with a population of about four thousand. Here he published his “Lectures to Young Men.”

After a most successful ministry of eight years, he consented, chiefly on the score of his wife's health, to undertake the charge of a new congregation that had just been formed in Brooklyn. Towards the end of 1847, he entered on the duties of his new sphere, and speedily attracted public notice by the freedom with which he expressed his opinions, whether popular or unpopular, and by the zeal, wisdom, eloquence, and power with which he spoke. He early reached, and never lost, that unequalled popularity as a preacher, which made his name a household word within and beyond the States. But it was impossible for him to be merely a preacher. He had all those qualities which enable a man to render eminent services to the State, and hence he felt compelled to take an active part in the discussion and settlement of the public questions of the day. It was not long before the people of the States recognised that in the minister of Brooklyn they had a man in whose patriotism, unselfishness, insight, and capacity they could repose confidence, and whose counsels on public affairs were bolder, more statesman-like, and more in harmony with truth and righteousness than those of the majority of politicians. For many years there were vast multitudes, who, in answer to the question: “Who is the most representative citizen of the United States?” would have replied: “Henry Ward Beecher.”

No man who ever listened to Mr Beecher could deny his title to be called a great, nay, one of the greatest of preachers. What, then, gave his words such power? He was in the first place an orator. He possessed a rich, flexible, penetrating voice, of which he had a boundless command. He could draw on its resources with the ease and confidence with which the organist draws on his instrument. Every mood of mind and heart was reflected in his tones. His appearance and gestures enhanced the effects produced by his voice. His open, sunny, and expressive face, his natural and striking ges-

tures won confidence and admiration. But his intellectual and emotional qualifications were not inferior to his physical. A wide knowledge of the human heart, a keen and vivid sympathy with man, copiousness and fluency of language, wit, humour, imagination—were all blended in his nature. But towering high above these were the lofty character and aims of the man himself. It was the man within and behind those great qualities and endowments which made him the brilliant and effective preacher. The end for which he lived was to enlist men in the service of Christ, and to fill them with that intense, impassioned, and enduring devotion to Him which swelled his own heart. Christ crucified was to him Christianity, and his aim was to unfold and apply the lessons of the life and teaching of Christ to the minds and souls of men. It is not surprising that, endowed so highly, he preached with extraordinary effect. Men heard and admired; but they did more, they repented and followed Jesus.

Mr Beecher preached extempore. His special preparation was begun only about two hours before he had to enter his pulpit. His mind was at ease as soon as he saw clearly the principal stages of the road he meant to take. He was aware that the presence of his audience would evoke all his faculties, and enable him to discover at a glance the main stages of his way. As was to be expected with such a method of preparation, many of his most striking thoughts and expressions were born of the moment. They came to him; he uttered them; and straightway forgot them. Few preachers comparatively are able to follow such an example, more especially in its details. There can, however, be no doubt that the best and most effective sermons are those which most closely resemble speeches—which are, in fact, Christian speeches on Christian topics—and that the number of ministers who can and should preach extempore might be largely increased. There is hardly a minister who could not name several of his friends who, he is confident, would, with the necessary pains and practice, make excellent extemporaneous preachers. How many ministers wish that they could carry with them to the pulpit the ease and self-command with which they speak at a prayer-meeting? Is there an essential difference between the pulpit and the desk? Does the elevation of a few feet render the brain less active and the tongue less fluent? A little courage and patience would soon enable the minister who speaks out of a full mind in unpremeditated language at a prayer-meeting, with pleasure to himself and benefit to his hearers, to preach with the same results from his pulpit.

Mr Beecher's sermons were remarkable for their variety. Perhaps no great preacher of any age spoke on so many different topics. He claimed the right to discuss all questions from the standpoint of

Christianity, and by example and precept did perhaps more than any man to broaden man's conceptions of the range of subjects which the pulpit might lawfully embrace. His method of treatment was also varied. It depended partly on the nature of the theme and partly on his mind at the time. But whether he was expounding, illustrating, enforcing, appealing, condemning, commanding, or doing all these in one and the same sermon, his prevailing aim was to effect an immediate impression: to constrain his audience to act. Every sermon he preached was preached with an object. He spoke to influence conduct as directly as a public man speaks to influence opinion.

Much has been written regarding Mr Beecher's theology and regarding his want of theology. He was certainly no systematic thinker. His intellect was intuitive rather than discursive, and he had neither the speculative power nor the learning to combine and co-ordinate truths into a system. His experience as a student and young minister during the conflict of the Old and New School Presbyterianism led him to recoil from elaborate schemes of doctrine. At a later period he felt that the system in which he had been educated did not do justice to those views of God's nature and character which were revealed in Christ, and he accordingly ceased to preach it. But it is untrue to say that Mr Beecher had no strong convictions. The articles of his creed were few but vital. They were part of his very life, wrought into the very texture of his soul. The Love of God, the Divinity of Christ, Pardon in Christ, the need of Regeneration, Regeneration only possible through Christ—these were some of the truths which he habitually taught, and by the teaching of which he won men for Christ. However defective his creed, it was certainly effective.

The question whether his sermons will live is not easily answered. They are not distinguished by any special grace of style. The language is sometimes harsh and inelegant, and the structure of the sentences and paragraphs careless. On the other hand, their teaching is pure and lofty, and they abound with passages full of striking imagery, sound sense, keen sagacity, deep insight, soaring aspiration, and rapturous love. They are worthy to live, and will, we hope and believe, be read for a long time to come. But whether they live or not as literature, they are the torches at which the torches of many preachers have directly or indirectly been kindled.

It is impossible here to do more than refer in a few sentences to the public life of Mr Beecher. His capacity, the might of his character, and the splendour of his eloquence, made him one of the greatest political forces in the States. His alliance was courted, his hostility dreaded, by statesmen. In all he did he sought the honour and welfare of his country, and he believed that its honour and

welfare could only be promoted by integrity, purity, liberty, and love. He was an early and conspicuous advocate of the cause of total abstinence. He pled for the abolition of slavery at a time when to do so endangered a man's influence, and even his personal safety. There are no more affecting pages in his Life than the many which describe his exertions, by tongue, pen, and purse, for the destruction of slavery. During the Civil War he was an ardent supporter of vigorous measures for the suppression of the South, and constantly urged on the Government the duty of emancipation. He visited England and Scotland while the war was raging, and did much to change the current of men's views regarding its nature and issues. And when the war was over, no tongue was so active or so eloquent as his in pleading for a policy of generosity and conciliation. There was scarcely a question of public policy or morality with which he did not deal, exposing what was base, selfish, and degrading, and calling for its destruction.

We heartily commend this volume to the attention of our readers for the light it throws on the character and attainments of one of the greatest preachers of the world, who was at the same time one of the greatest public men of the United States; for the historical information it furnishes on many points of great importance, and for its pleasant sketches of early frontier life, with its simplicity and purity, its hardships and its joys.

WILLIAM PATRICK.

The Two Kinds of Truth, or the Two Spheres of Truth : A Test of other Theories.

By T. E. S. T., an Old Life Member of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Second Edition, with New Introduction. London: T. Fisher Unwin. Cr. 8vo. Price 7s. 6d.

THE title of this book invites criticism. We have been accustomed to think of Truth as one, as God is one, and the universe is one. Can there be *two kinds* of Truth? The author anticipates this criticism in the second edition of his book by explaining that by *two kinds* of Truth he means *two Spheres* of Truth. His contention is that all facts of knowledge may be classified as either Universal, that is, Necessary Truth, or Natural, that is, Arbitrary, Truth.

The distinction is now an old one, and it has brought with it in the history of thought gain or loss as its terms have been interpreted. What is new in this book is this—that the author claims the distinction as a Preliminary Test, to which all theories shall be subjected, and by means of which they shall be arranged.

An example from the Sphere of Nature, and of Ethics, and of Metaphysics will illustrate his position.

Take Nature. That which has neither Social Life nor Consciousness belongs to the natural Sphere of Truth; that which has both, to the Universal Sphere. Hence *Evolution of Species* may be possible, but *Evolution of Thought* is impossible. Again, take Ethics. In man there are Instinct-Motives, such as Animal Appetites; and Mind-Motives, such as Deliberate Convictions. The former belong to the Natural Sphere of Truth, the latter to the Universal. Hence for man *Freedom* is possible. Once again take Metaphysic. Material Organism is of the Natural Sphere; Spiritual Life of the Universal. Man has both, hence *Immortality*.

This division is in no sense the author's, but it serves to illustrate his mode of procedure.

It will be said that the author "protests too much." There is a danger lest the criterion become a *Deus ex Machina*, and it is open to an Evolutionist and a Determinist and a Materialist to say "I deny the premises." There is truth in this, and it may be doubted if the author is sufficiently alive to the danger that lies in the subjectivity of his method. But all his positions are carefully and candidly reasoned. The deeper question remains—Whether it is worth while to expend labour in discussing *Metaphysical* questions *Psychologically*? The heart of the Problem of Knowledge and the heart of the Problem of Ethics is the question of the nature and the function of the self, and that is ultimately not a *Psychological*, but a *Metaphysical* question.

In his discussion of Scientific and Psychological Problems, every one will follow the author's arguments and illustrations with interest. The book is full of information. It consists of thirty-seven lectures, and in the course of these nearly every great question that has moved the human mind is referred to. The discursive manner in which it is written,—it abounds in illustration and quotation and anecdote,—makes it difficult at times for the student to follow the trend of its thought, but probably this will make it more attractive to "ordinary readers." For such, the author tells us, he has written, and the fact that a second edition has been called for within a year shews that the book has been appreciated. There is a good index.

ROBERT S. SIMPSON.

Essays, Reviews, and Addresses.

By James Martineau, Hon. LL.D. Harv., S.T.D. Ludg. Bat., D.D. Edin., D.C.L. Oxon. Selected and revised by the Author.
 II.—*Ecclesiastical: Historical.* London: Longmans, Green & Co. Crown 8vo, pp. vi., 576. Price 7s. 6d.

THE interesting volume of Personal and Political papers which Dr Martineau published last year, has been followed by a volume of even greater interest, in which he reproduces his earlier thoughts on various questions of importance, both ecclesiastical and historical. *Church and State, Europe since the Reformation, Alexandria and her Schools, The Unitarian Position, The Crisis of Faith, The New Affinities of Faith*, are among the subjects discussed. Dr Martineau's own theological views colour many of his papers, and give them their highest value. But most important of all in this respect is the essay entitled *A Way out of the Trinitarian Controversy*.

The reissue of this famous article may revive a discussion deeply affecting the mutual relations of two great divisions of religious thought and life. When first published it fell like a bolt from the empyrean, producing something like consternation in Unitarian ranks, and no little amazement in Trinitarian circles. That Unitarians had for ages, without knowing it, been worshipping, not the Father, but the co-eternal "Son"; that in a certain sense the Father *is really absent from the Unitarian Creed* (the italics are Dr Martineau's); that it is in Him (the Son) that Unitarians put their faith, "though under another name"; and that "then they are at one with all Christendom in the very focus and fervour of its religious life":—these were statements, coming from such an authority, as startling to Unitarian as to Trinitarian ears.

Yet no impartial reader of Dr Martineau's pages can doubt that much of what he says both of Unitarian and Trinitarian conceptions is true. The crudest notions of the Deity are widely prevalent. "Too probably," he says, "many a disciple, unschooled in the fine distinctions of a Greek theology, thinks of the Father chiefly as the God prior to the plan of the Incarnation, of the Son as the historical figure, of the Holy Ghost as the agent sent on the day of Pentecost to take the place of the ascended Christ. He fancies these acting each on the other as outside beings, and conducting a divine drama among themselves."

Dr Martineau deals fairly, and if keenly and profoundly, yet not altogether fully and satisfactorily, with Trinitarian conceptions of the Godhead as they are embodied in the Nicene Creed. To reach the "Father" you must get in thought into the "primeval solitude," go "from a full universe to an empty one," to "the poised and

brooding cloud, 'the hiding place of thunder,' whence the lightning is to flash." This "dormant potency, this infinite faculty, this perfection that hangs back and *is* but does not breathe, . . . is the 'Father': the anterior source of that which waits to be." This is Dr Martineau's rendering of the *πρῆ βίβλητος*, the "Or of the Platonists." "Let now the silence be broken, let the thought burst into expression, fling out the poem of creation, evolving its idea in the drama of history, and reflecting its own image in the soul of man; then this *manifested phase* of the Divine existence is *the Son* . . . the *Word* or utterance of an otherwise *mute* Infinitude. . . . The first is God in his primeval essence; . . . the second is God speaking out in phenomena and fact."

He seems to admit and ably explains the doctrine of the co-eternity of the Son with the Father. This, however, Clement (of Alexandria), Origen and others, had done in the early ages of the controversy. "Where is the filiation if both have ever been contemporary? What spoken word is that which does not *follow on* the thought it speaks? I believe, however," he adds with conspicuous candour, "that every thoughtful man will find himself entangled in the very same contradiction, with no happier escape. . . . Did he *ever* 'leave himself without a witness' and expression? . . . We have to confess that, seek him in what hiding-place of duration we may, there already is some vestige of his mind . . . his *Word is eternal as Himself*."

The separation of the Third Personality from the others, Dr Martineau tells us, "is founded on a feeling deep and true, viz., that the human spirit is not a mere part of nature" . . . "there is something diviner within us"—"akin in freedom, in power, in love to the Supreme Mind himself. . . . In virtue of this . . . we need not control simply . . . but *living communion*, like with like, spirit with spirit. To open this communion, to bring this help and sympathy to breathe on the fading consciousness of our heavenly affinity, and make us One with the Father and the Son, is the function . . . reserved . . . for the Holy Ghost."

It will thus be seen that Dr Martineau perceives a possible mode of reconciling *some* theory of a Trinity with his own distinctive doctrine of the Divine Unity; and as Trinitarians are not tritheists, but contend for unity in the Godhead as earnestly as Dr Martineau himself, there can be no *prima facie* case, with the co-eternal Sonship as a basis of discussion, against the probabilities of success. That he should succeed must be the wish and prayer of all who worship the Father through the Son, and by the grace of the Holy Spirit. To gain so desirable an end it might be worth while in the interests of union to let many time-honoured, but not Scripture-begotten, phrases and definitions, much in use on both sides, go by

the board ; nay, to re-open the controversy itself, that the breach made in the third century may be healed in our times.

Dr Martineau, it must be confessed, deals with the crucial point of his problem with plainness and characteristic courage. "Now," he asks, having given his own definition of the "Orthodox" Trinity, "with which of these three does the One object of the Unitarians' worship coincide? Both they and their opponents will at once reply—*with the Father*. I venture to give a different answer, and to say, *with the Son*. True, we do not *name* Him so. . . . But if, freeing yourself from the snare of words, you will look at what the words denote, you will correct your first impression. . . . Everything that you" (Unitarians) "can say to convey a just conception of your God—that he spread the heavens,—that he guided Israel,—that he dwelt in the Human Christ, . . . *all* you will discover registered among the characters of the Son. It is in *Him*, therefore, among the objects of your church-neighbour's faith, that your belief is placed ; . . . you omit the first Person, and begin with the Second." . . . "The Father . . . *is really absent from the Unitarian creed*. . . . He who is the Son in the one creed is the Father in the other ; and the two are agreed, not indeed by any means *throughout*, but in that which constitutes the pith and kernel of both faiths. Let the advocates of each compare them together from this point of view, with mind open, not to words only, but to the real thoughts they contain, and with temper sensitive to sympathy rather than to divergency, and there is hope that we may yet all come into the unity of faith, and true knowledge of the Son of God."

Unless then we are utterly mistaken as to the scope and drift of Dr Martineau's arguments and teaching here, he is apparently willing that the points of difference between the Unitarian and "Orthodox" Churches should be discussed on the basis of the "Eternal Sonship." If this be so, it is unquestionably a great advance upon the Unitarianism of Channing and other leading exponents of that creed in the past. The co-eternal Sonship has ever been held by them as entirely subversive of the doctrine of the Divine Unity, in spite of Trinitarian protests to the contrary. The three Personalities of our Trinity were represented as three Gods. We were at one with them only when we worshipped the Father. But this discovery that they have all along been unconsciously worshipping the Son, and ignoring the Supreme Essence, of whom the Son is the Eternal Manifestation, and who now waits for their intellectual recognition and heartfelt acknowledgment, has entirely altered the conditions of the controversy. There is now a "Way Out" of our misunderstanding and estrangement. The difference between the Hebrew "Jehovah," in whom we meet and worship together, and Christ, is all that separates us from the unity of the faith. This is a "platform" of prelimi-

any agreement that has never been reached before ; and the warmest acknowledgments are due to Dr Martineau's candour and courage for the fact.

There are two thoughts, each suggestive of hopefulness as to a practical issue of this discussion, that have, no doubt, occurred to most readers of Dr Martineau's striking article. The first is that it is impossible for Dr Martineau, and those whom he represents, to rest satisfied with their present position ; a "*manifested phase* of the Divine Existence" cannot be a permanent object of worship. Picture it to our minds under what imagery we may,—as of the ocean in its tides, or light and heat in their radiations, as the lightning born of "the poised and brooding cloud,"—it is too transitory and evanescent, too liable to be superseded by the next "*manifestation*," to afford rest for thought or worship. The soul pants for the living God ; not only for what He does, or what He gives, or even what He promises, but for what He is in Himself ; and no *phase* of work or character that does not reveal completeness of personality will ever satisfy the immortal human spirit. It is this which makes "Robert Elsmereism" impossible.

The other thought is that Dr Martineau, in his soaring soul-flight into "primeval solitudes," has carried with him rather the eye of the scientist and philosopher than that which his life-study of Biblical phenomena should have taught him to use. Another eye, enlightened by that Spirit who has given all heavenly visions, would have seen in that centre of Infinitude,—within "that poised and brooding cloud,"—the form of One who can only be described in inadequate human language as the "Eternally Begotten of the Father," his "glorious brightness," the "Son of God." Instead of mental imagery, borrowed from Nature and the material universe, why should we not use the analogies of revelation ? That we may, in some degree, penetrate the mystery of Godhood—our eternal study—God has initiated us by the mystery of Manhood. A body, soul, and rational spirit make up our three-one humanity. We are made in the image of our Maker. Our life comes from the Supreme Source of all life—the Father ; our body is framed after the image of the Son,—one day to be fashioned like unto His glorious body,—and our rational spirit bears the impress of the Divine Spirit,—that, too, has to be recreated by His power. Why then should we not conceive of Deity after the analogy of his Image ? Why should we not think of the Supreme Eternal Life-Source as embodied and expressed in the ever visible Son—the only Image of the Invisible God,—and diffusing spirit and intelligence in His creatures through the ever quickening Holy Ghost ? Such a Divine Unity is as conceivable, and with our Bible-taught experience as credible, as that of Dr Martineau's "*manifested phases* of the Divine Existence."

But whether we adopt this or any other analogy—and they are all imperfect—once grant the Eternal Sonship as the basis of discussion, and the problem of many ages is soluble. There is then a way out of the controversy. R. BALGARNIE.

Die Komposition der Paulinischen Hauptbriefe. I. Der Römer—und Galaterbrief.

Von Daniel Völter. Tübingen: Heckenhauersche Buchhandlung. 8vo, pp. iii., 175. Price M. 2.40.

THE Pauline authorship of the epistles to the Romans, Corinthians i., ii., and Galatians, was until recently one of the few points on which the various conflicting schools of New Testament criticism were agreed. Baur and his immediate disciples, not only defended the genuineness of the four epistles, but regarded it as a necessary presupposition for the due understanding of the genesis and growth of primitive Christianity. Of late years, however, partly because the conclusions of the Tübingen school have become doubtful, partly because of the inevitable development of the younger school of "Higher Criticism," the assumption on which the older critics founded their reasoning has been questioned.

The new school professes to rely almost exclusively on internal evidence, and to have obtained therefrom its theory of the genesis and history of original Christianity. Grant the theory, and it follows that the four cardinal epistles cannot possibly have emanated in their present form from St Paul: they must either have passed through sundry revisions and editings, or pursuing logic to its bitter end, be the production of that distinguished limited company of authors which is supposed to have flourished some time towards the middle of the second century. Dr Völter, though perhaps a trifle more conservative than some of his predecessors and colleagues, adopts in the main the method and results of their investigations, and is therefore driven to the same alternative with regard to the writings of St Paul. The first part of the volume which lies before us is devoted to the study of the Epistles to the Romans and to the Galatians. Steck and Loman, by whom Völter appears to have been principally influenced, had already ruled the four epistles out of court. Our author inclines to a compromise, at all events, in the case of the "Romans," but his tone is fully as dogmatic. He knows exactly what St Paul could or could not have said, and what he ought to have said and done, and whenever his own Paul and that of the New Testament come

into collision it requires no prophetic insight to foretell what will happen.

The first suspicious points about the Epistle to the Romans are its length, and the difficulties as to its purport and the composition of the Church to which it was addressed. In the fifth chapter, the author of verse 12, it is argued, could not possibly have written verses 13 and 14; for, having said that death was the punishment of sin, he could not declare afterwards that death reigned from Adam to Moses, though, in the absence of law, sin was not imputed. Again, in the sixth chapter, the fourteenth and fifteenth verses, with their uncalled-for allusion to the law, are pronounced an evident interpolation. The seventh chapter is held to contain two conflicting ideas of the law; in the first part, the law is declared to have brought sin to life; in the second part, the commandment is spoken of as being "holy, and just, and good." The eighth chapter is declared to come from another pen, because it repeats and expands ideas which had been expressed in a former section of the epistle (ch. v.); besides it is inspired by a passage in Corinthians (2 Cor. iv. 5), though somewhat misapplied. The chapters ix.-xi. share the fate of the preceding chapter; there is also a contradiction between the statements in ix. 1-29 and xi.: the former reasons from a determinist point of view, the latter contemplates the subject from an ethical standpoint. The fourteenth and fifteenth chapters down to the 13th verse are copied from the eighth chapter in the first Epistle to the Corinthians. The first twenty verses of ch. xvi. are a later addition. In the end we have the original Epistle of St Paul, as reconstructed by Dr Völter, consisting of ch. i. 1a; i. 7; i. 5, 6; i. 8-17; v., vi. (omitting v. 13, 14; v. 20; vi. 14, 15), xii., xiii.; xv. 14-32; xvi. 21-23, and we see the apostle emerging into the light of day, the preacher of a pure humanitarianism and a lofty moral philosophy, unadulterated by theology and dogma.

Who are the interpolators? for there are at least three of them. The principal one is a Christian Stoic; his Christology and Soteriology are a considerable advance upon the teaching of the original epistle, and foreshadow the doctrines of the fourth evangelist. Of the other two, the first approaches more closely to St Paul than the others, but is distinguished by his strict predestinarianism; the second, the author of the eleventh chapter, is a patriotic Jew, who takes up the cudgels in behalf of his nation against the surrounding Gentiles. All the interpolators are largely indebted to the writings of Seneca and Philo. Dr Völter, who, whenever an idea or phrase is repeated in one of the epistles, describes at once the hand of an interpolator, never pausing to inquire whether the reiteration may not be caused by similarity of subject, or whether the word used, though outwardly the same, may not have a different meaning

attached to it, exercises considerable discretion in dealing with the analogies between the heathen sage or the Jewish philosopher and the Christian apostle. Between the three there are striking resemblances of thought, sentiment, and language. Stoicism has many affinities with Christianity, and nowhere are they more manifest than in the noble Roman, through whose austere philosophy runs a vein of mysticism which might well have attracted St Paul, the Apostle of the religious sentiment. The Alexandrian Plato, from his Jewish antecedents and the spirit which pervades his system, is naturally a spiritual kinsman of the Hebrew teacher of Christianity to the Gentiles. But the existence in two writers of isolated parallel passages containing similar ideas or expressions is no token that one or the other must have been a borrower. "*Les beaux esprits se rencontrent*" and the chapter of literary coincidences presents many startling curiosities. Besides, as the study of the context frequently shows, a verbal agreement is no guarantee of homogeneity of idea.

A few words on Galatians must suffice. Here, it is asserted, we have not only interpolations, but an altogether spurious production. The unhistorical nature of ch. ii. is sufficient condemnation: the real St Paul could never have spoken or acted as here represented. Equally misleading are the accounts of the Apostle's relation to the Galatians, and of the line of conduct pursued by his opponents. The dogmatic part of the epistle is taken from the Epistles to the Corinthians and Romans. The author is a Paulinist; his epistle is on the whole clumsily put together.

The strictures which Völter passes on others apply to himself. His criticism is of a very subjective kind; his method is vitiated by extreme arbitrariness, and his range of vision is of the most limited description. Pray, give us some breathing room; concede as much freedom to the religious as to the literary genius; allow that the master mind of the inspired Apostle to the Gentiles may have conceived things "in heaven and earth which are not dreamt of in your philosophy."

A. SCHWARTZ.

UNDER the title of *Ernste Gedanken*,¹ a small pamphlet was published some time ago, which in a few weeks ran through six editions. In the opinion of its enthusiastic admirers, it was to start quite a new movement in modern Protestantism. Its very title-page

¹ *Ernste Gedanken*. Von M. von Egidy, Oberstlieutenant im 1. Sächsischen Husaren regiment. Leipzig, Wigand. 8vo., pp. 53. Price M. 0: 60.

took the reading public by surprise ; for its author was announced to be neither a pastor nor a professor, but a soldier, one of high rank, a Lieutenant-colonel of the Hussars, who claimed to be the mouthpiece of all Protestants of culture. His argumentation, which denies miracle, the Godhead of Christ, and the rights of the Christian Church as an organised institution, is narrow and shallow, but the warm earnestness exhibited throughout the book has secured for the new "reformer" the attention of the adherents of liberal theology and free-thought. A flood of pamphlets attacking or defending the new views has poured down upon its author. Herr von Egidy, giving up his military career and encouraged by his new friends to start a new "Church," has devoted his time and energies to this end. At a meeting held in Berlin in the week following Whitsuntide, most of the leaders of free religious thought, including various representatives of the "Protestanten Verein," made their appearance, expecting to find a powerful helper in Egidy, and an agreement was arrived at on points of negation. But as soon as any proposal was brought forward as to the positive foundation of the new Church, the discussion came to a dead lock, and Egidy saw himself left alone. The movement so far has failed. As the book shows, Herr von Egidy is wanting both in originality and in learning. Religious emotion alone has never yet made a reformer.

In Germany at present, a sceptical movement is at work which is of limited range, but of considerable power. It uses as its instrument a destructive criticism which would leave nothing on which to begin the work of reconstruction. We have an example of this in the volume by Dr Steck, professor of exegesis in the University of Bern, on *Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*.¹ To Steck's critical radicalism the results even of the Tübingen School are baseless. While Baur's historical construction rests on the supposition that Paul's Epistle to the Galatians is an authentic historical source, Steck considers this epistle a pseudepigraphic production. On the other hand, he assigns to those New Testament writings which take in Baur's opinion only the third rank, the honoured place of the Pauline *homologumena*. Thus his results contrast strangely with Baur's. Both have the same matter as their basis of investigation, but its valuation runs in very opposite directions. Baur explains the development of primitive Christianity by the difference between Paul and Christ's first apostles ; Steck, on the contrary, believes in their essential agreement, takes this agreement as his historical basis, and removes the conflict of opinions to a later period. His critique starts from a false standpoint. Paul, he ventures to say, either wrote more than his four epistles (Rom.,

¹ *Der Galaterbrief nach seiner Echtheit untersucht* von R. Steck. Berlin, Reimer, 386 pp. Price 8 Marks.

Galat., Corinth.), or he wrote nothing of what has been left to us. His theory is that as *the epistles attributed to him cannot all be genuine, it is likely that none of them are genuine.*

In the light of these doubtful, unscientific premises, he examines the Epistle to the Galatians, and denies its genuineness. With it fall Romans and both the Epistles to the Corinthians. In his opinion the Epistle to the Romans is not a work of Paul, but a much later compilation, and the oldest of the four. The Epistles to the Corinthians are derived or compiled from it; Galatians, again, is derived from Romans and Corinthians. All the four are preceded by Acts and the three synoptical Gospels. They are the work of a certain Christian school, and were composed in the first half of the second century. Steck is refuted, and in a very incisive way, by Dr Lindemann, and more especially Dr Gloël.¹

Zöckler's *Handbook of Theology*² has just reached its third edition. This is a learned work, and proceeds on the principle that criticism is both a necessity for biblical truth and its guarantee. It has undergone some important alterations, and may be regarded as the standard work of the moderate orthodox school of German Protestantism. It is of great practical value, furnishing the student, pastor, and scholar in a comparatively small compass with a succinct and clear survey of the whole field of theology in its present state. It is conservative but not reactionary; and it handles its subjects in a very thorough way. It has also the advantage of a good style.

Of Dr Hauck's important German *Church History*³ the second volume has now been given to the public. By common consent the book is placed among the best works of historical research. It is constructed on the lines laid down by Leopold von Ranke, and in respect of completeness, style, and learning, it deserves to be welcomed not only by German students but by others. While its first volume gives much new information on Bonifacius and the foundation of the Church in Germany, the second volume, covering the 8th and 9th centuries, furnishes a vivid picture of Charles the

¹ Die Echtheit der Paulinischen Hauptbriefe gegen Steck's Umsturzversuch verteidigt, von R. Lindeman. Zurich, 56 p. Price 1 M.—Die jüngste Kritik des Galaterbriefs auf ihre Berechtigung geprüft, von F. Gloël. Erlangen, 96 p. Price 1 M. 80 d.

² Handbuch der theologischen Wissenschaften, unter Mitwirkung von DD. Cremer, Grau, Harnack, Kübel, Luthardt, &c., hrsg. von Prof. Dr Zöckler, &c.; 4 voll. 3d edition 1891. (Vol. I. Foundations and Exegetical Theology; Vol. II. Histor. Theol.; Vol. III. Systematic Theol.; Vol. IV. Practical Theology). Price: M. 50:80.

³ Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, von Albert Hauck. I. u. II. Teil, Leipzig, Hinrichs. Pp. 650 and 758. Price 16 and 14 M.

Great and his influence on his time. Hauck shows how the general progress made in ecclesiastical, political, and social life was due to the initiative, and directed by the interest, of that mighty monarch. In his relations to the Popes of his time, to the doctrinal decisions, to the organisation of ecclesiastical institutions, and to the dissemination of Christian belief and culture, Charles comes out at the head not only of the Church but of occidental Christianity. His death was the worst blow that mediæval Christianity suffered. As long as he lived his powerful will kept the destructive forces of the time in check. After his death these forces were in the ascendant. The "Dissolution of the Imperial Church," which makes up the 5th chapter, and shows the transition of power from the Frankish monarchy to the Roman pontiff, is handled with great power. Of no less value is the closing chapter, in which Dr Hauck sums up the results of his researches into the whole religious and moral life of the time. This work should be translated.

Two valuable additions have been made of late to German periodical religious literature. The *New Church Review*¹ has been started under the editorship of Professor Holzhauser, by Professor Frank and Dr Buchrucker, the leading Lutheran theologians in Bavaria. This review, with quite a number of first-rate writers on its staff, has made an excellent start. It aims at making a firm stand against modern Radicalism as well as Romanism, and making itself the centre for theological study within the Lutheran Church. It handles the theological and ecclesiastical questions of the time from a positive point of view. The introductory article, by Professor Frank, of Erlangen, is an excellent piece of work. The other articles have at their head the names of men well known for their piety and their learning, and for the influence which they exert on the theological thought of Lutheran Germany.

A few months after the birth of this organ, another monthly paper was started by a number of University professors, representing the new school of Ritschlianism. Though conducted by scholars who represent the more theoretical side of theology—Professors Gottschick of Giessen; Kaftan and Harnack of Berlin; Sell, of Darmstadt; Reischle, of Stuttgart; and Hermann of Marburg, this *Journal for Theology and Church*² in the main is devoted to the investigation of questions of practical theology. As may be expected from its being in the hands of men of such note in theology, the new review will, no doubt, get the ear of the public. The school of Ritschl, which it represents, has produced able and

¹ *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*. Herausg. von G. Holzhauser. Leipzig, Deichert.

² *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, ed. by Prof. Dr. Gottschick, Giessen. Freiburg i. B., J. C. B. Mohr.

earnest scholars, and is still in the ascendant, having secured the adherence of many men of influence in the pulpit and the universities. We cannot speak now of its religious tendency or aspirations; in its present state it makes a powerful defence of enlightened faith against the arbitrariness of negation. In its theology it shows a more practical turn, and endeavours to get a hold of the masses by a somewhat new method of presenting the Gospel.

Though not of a strictly theological character, another new publication may be noticed, namely, *The Art Treasures of Italy*,¹ edited by Dr Karl von Lützow. It should command the favour, not only of lovers of art, but also of the student of Church history. It exhibits in a singular degree the profound influence which religion and theology have exercised on art. It is a magnificent volume, "the standard work of German art-literature." For the moderate price of 55 sh. it offers fifty first-rate etchings and 348 illustrations (engravings and woodcuts representing the best works of the great Italian artists, Church architecture, paintings, monuments, medals, &c.). The text is by Lützow, one of the first art critics in Germany. There is a general agreement as to the sterling value of the work, which does honour to the modern typographical and technical arts.

RUDOLF BUDDENSIEG.

Our Father's Kingdom.

*By Rev. Chas. B. Ross, B.D. T. & T. Clark. Pp. 189.
Price 2s. 6d.*

Short Studies on St Paul's Letter to the Philippians.

*By Rev. W. L. Ker, M.A. W. Blackwood & Sons. Pp. 276.
Price 5s.*

Summer Sundays in a Strathmore Parish.

*By Rev. J. G. M'Pherson, M.A. W. Blackwood & Sons. Pp. 215.
Price 5s.*

The Great Alternative.

*By Rev. Chas. Moinet, M.A. Hodder & Stoughton. Pp. 292.
Price 5s.*

A SERIES of twelve lectures on the Lord's Prayer make up the first of these volumes. Considerable emphasis is laid on the inter-dependence

¹ Die Kunstschatze Italiens, geschildert von Carl von Lützow. Engelhorn, Stuttgart. Cheap edition. 502 p. folio. Price 55 Mark.

of the several petitions, and the same contributes force to the hortatory matter. The author is wide awake to contemporary thought, and difficulties are seriously discussed. Points in Pantheism are alluded to; and with Christ's teaching he confronts the Socialist. There is, perhaps, no distinct contribution to the questions discussed; but the arguments—of Agnosticism, for example—are freshly put and frankly met. When he thinks of Nature being "red in tooth and claw with ravine," he has his answer (p. 30); nor does he see merely the rosy side of human nature. He acknowledges facts, and is not dismayed. The lectures are generally wholesome reading; terse, and sometimes chaste in their expression. Many will decline to follow his teaching, no doubt, on "The Final Reign" of Christ, where he takes sides with Bonar, Saphir, &c.; but none will withhold admiration of the spirit in which he expounds his thought. "I have tried to hold up the glass of prophecy with which to see the gates of the palace. . . . My hand has trembled like those of the pilgrims of old, while I have tried to look: and the picture I have described may not be wholly accurate" (p. 124).

A chapter on Introduction, and then an "Explanatory Translation," preface the second volume, which consists of some twenty expository lectures. The object of the re-translation is doubtless that the thought be freshened, and brought home to the conscience. To some extent this is accomplished; but often it is little more than a diluting of the original. There are lectures on "Sources of Apostolic Joy," "Holy Living," "Winning Christ at any Cost," &c. We have noticed an unhappy turn given to the thought here and there (*e.g.*, p. 141).

"Summer Sundays" carry our thoughts away to the Sabbath stillness of the hills, to the musical murmur of the brooks. The poetry of rural life is inexhaustible to city people; it has many echoes in Mr M'Pherson's book. Indeed, the fragrance of poesy pervades it. The discourses are full of local colour. Vivid sometimes are the touches, as if the reader were in the strath and saw its glory. At times a thought is struck out that gleams upon the page, as when the suggestion is made that the purest love on earth is that of father for daughter. At times we discern a curious alarm at the presence of Evangelical aggressiveness (p. 12). But a fine humanliness, homely and wistful, glows in the sermons. There are occasional blemishes in phraseology. The author has given us a taste of his own poetic quality, venturing to round off each discourse with a sonnet of his own.

Some of the highest qualities belonging to sermonic literature are present in Mr Moinet's discourses. The tracking in them of action and thought back and down into the heart's recesses is suggestive of Newman. The pellucid calm of Newman's English, to be sure, is

wanting. There is instead a style vigorous, terse, nay, too uniformly intense. We imagine the most serious criticism to which the work will be exposed will be really an excess of virtue. The sermons are almost monotonously intense. The pages are full of thought; and if the language is on occasion somewhat diffuse, the words are never those "that wear out ideas." There is a breadth and catholicity of knowledge which gives a fine balance and completeness to the teaching, not without its own rare impressiveness. Clearness is characteristic. Often we come upon a generalisation, or an aphorism, which tells of fire, and anvil, and living workman. "Obstacles never paralyse effort till hope dies or begins to languish." "The disposition which towards man is selfish, is towards God profane" (pp. 112, 129). In his analysis of character Mr Moinet is deft and sure. "The Character of Esau," and again, in "The Unrighteous Mammon," the analysis of the unjust steward, show the preacher in his strength. These are in the best sense modern sermons. They are addressed to the thoughts and the troubles of contemporaries. The social instability and the non-Christian thought of our time, not obtruded in any case, lie behind the exposition. Thus in the sermon which gives its title to the volume: "Christianity is not to be resolved into light and sweetness. It is not merely an impalpable essence, but spreads itself through society, raising its general moral temperature, and importing into it a certain improved flavour and aroma but utterly incapable of being condensed into a substantial corporeity . . . there needs . . . the committal of your whole nature into the hands of a Divine Person, out of whose deep, inexhaustible being it shall henceforward draw its succour and support" (p. 7). And so of the unrest in society. "Order is never safe that does not spring out of the orderliness of the community itself; and long immunity from violence does not imply that violence will never come" . . . (p. 224). "We do not need new discoveries in social economics for solving the problems of our time. We only need faithfully to apply the teaching of Christ to our own lives and to labour to procure its recognition in the lives of others" (p. 239). He is no less forcible in urging acceptance of the paradoxical sayings of our Lord, insisting on these as perhaps the most searching tests of spiritual life. But we have said enough. A Scotticism will be found peeping out (p. 4); and "deemed" (p. 238) is obviously a misprint for "denied."

W. B. COOPER.

Pilgerschaft und Vaterhaus.

*Predigten von Erich Haupt. 2te Aufl. Halle: Max Niemeyer.
8vo, pp. vi. and 154. Price not stated.*

THIS is the second edition of an exceedingly valuable volume of sermons. The author—known to us by his work on the First Epistle of St John—tells us that the work was published partly as “a small contribution towards the building of a new church,” and partly as a greeting and remembrance to his students, old and new. The sermons are ten in number, grouped, as the title indicates, round the ideas of pilgrimage and home. An idea of the contents may be gathered from some of the headings—“The Love of God” (Titus iii. 4); “The Pilgrim’s Travelling Expenses” (1 Kings xix. 7, 8); “Egypt and Canaan” (Matt. ii. 15); “The Thorn in the Flesh,” “Jacob’s Wrestling,” “The Widow’s Mite,” “Israel’s Restoration under Samuel” (1 Sam. vii. 2-6, 10-12). The sermon on St Paul’s “Thorn in the Flesh” is one of the most interesting and practical in the volume. The author describes this experience of St Paul’s as “the Gethsemane of his life.” Paradise is defined as “the most undisturbed and most blessed fellowship between God and man.” Such a state St Paul was in; and our author endeavours to find the connection between “the Paradise” and “the Gethsemane” of St Paul’s life. Spiritual dangers, he shows us, are connected with “the Paradise,” such as the imagination that we are more advanced in grace than others, and the disposition to abstain from the active work of earth. The corrective of these dangers was and is “the thorn in the flesh.”

WILLIAM BEVERIDGE.

Evangelium in den Episteln.

Ein Jahrgang Predigten nach der Textwahl von Thomasius und nach der Schriftauslegung v. Hofmanns. Von Detlev Zahn. Gotha: Gustav Schloessmann. 8vo. pp. viii. and 597. Price M. 6.

THE title of this volume of sermons explains itself. The discourses are evidently the work of a minister alive to present needs, and supremely anxious to apply the Gospel of Christ to them. The titles give one a fair idea of their contents, if not of their character: “The Power of the Belief in the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ” (1 Tim. vi. 11-16), “Conscience and the Gospel” (Rom. ii. 14-16), “Christian Holiness crowned in love for the Brethren”

(1 John iv. 7-17), "The Power of the Death of Jesus" (Heb. ii. 10-18), "The Victory of Missions" (Acts xvi. 12-15), and so on. The simplicity of treatment is often very remarkable: for instance, a sermon dealing with Missions, and based on Acts viii. 26-39, has this simple division—(1) The Commission, (2) The Execution of it. The two sermons which have struck us most are the second in the volume and the thirty-eighth. The one is entitled "The Power of the Belief in the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ." The author says: "A Christianity without the Second Advent is entirely unthinkable. Our whole position as Christians is regulated by the fact that here we are simply pilgrims. Take away the hope of Christ's return, and the Church becomes like a house without a roof, a beginning without progress and without a climax" (p. 14). He proceeds to show (and we must content ourselves with the mere statement) that the power indicated manifests itself in two directions: first, in affording light for the understanding of the present; and, secondly, in making one zealous to lay hold on eternal life. The other sermon which interested us specially is one with the title, "The contribution of the Church to the solution of the Social Question," based on Acts iii. 1-10—the story of the healing of the lame man by Peter and John. This lame and poor man the author regards as the picture of the social need: and his contention is precisely this—"Silver and gold" is not the weapon at the disposal of the Church for the world's help; it is "the name of Jesus of Nazareth." Among other illustrations of his contention he refers to the Roman Catholic Church, and uses, in one passage, these words: "Where to-day the Romish Church develops her power, there social misery shrieks to heaven, as in Belgium and Ireland" (p. 371). We shall all, surely, agree in the prayer, "Preserve, O Lord, Thy Church from deceit and from extravagance, maintain it in discipline, in lowliness, and in wisdom, that Thy counsel may be executed in the world" (p. 366).

WILLIAM BEVERIDGE.

Introduction to Philosophy. An Inquiry after a Rational System of Scientific Principles in their relation to Ultimate Reality.

By George Trumbull Ladd, Professor of Philosophy in Yale University. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 8vo., pp. 490. 12s. 1891.

THE growth of interest in philosophical studies is quite a marked feature of American life at the present day. It is part of a general movement which embraces every branch and phase of the culture of

the ideal. Those who are used only to hear America spoken of as the land of the "Almighty Dollar," will perhaps wonder at the statement just made. But wonder is often the daughter of ignorance. Material interests do undoubtedly absorb chief attention; but how could it be otherwise in a new country, where millions of the industrious and enterprising, though poor and prospectless of other lands, are founding new homes? Material interests, however, are not everything, even to those who seem absorbed in them. Not to refer to what is being done in the domain of religion and theology, —which are surely *par excellence* concerned with the ideal; or in that of popular education; or for technical training,—what enormous sums of money have been given not merely by the State Authorities, but also by private individuals, for the establishment and equipment of Libraries, Museums, Scientific Institutions, Colleges, and Universities! And how remarkable is the devotion of Americans to pursuits which have only a very remote connection with material prosperity, such as Mathematics, Astronomy, Geology, History, Philology, and Archæology. Nothing like it has ever been seen before; unless, as far as art was concerned, in Greece. If Europe does not look to its laurels, she will find them ere long transferred to other and worthier brows in the West.

No subject is attracting more earnest attention than philosophy —philosophy, too, in the wider and more exact sense now generally put on the term. The provision made for teaching it in such Universities as Harvard, Yale, Johns-Hopkins, New York, and others, is of the amplest, compared with ours in Britain; and the teachers are exhibiting a zeal and capacity that cannot but bring success.

Take for example, *Yale*. There are no fewer than five teachers, the senior being the well-known Ex-President Porter, the next, Professor Ladd, who alone lectured last year on History of Philosophy, Philosophy Proper, Philosophy of Religion, Physiological Psychology, and Pædagogics. In the light of such facts, one can understand the issue of a work like the one under notice, to which, so far as I am aware, there exists no British parallel of, at all events, this century's production.

The treatise is styled an "Introduction;" but if any one takes it up in the expectation of facing an easy wicket-gate into the enchanted land of philosophy he will be grievously mistaken. It bristles, in fact, with difficulties; some of them, as we are compelled honestly to remark, those of style and method; largely, however, such as are inseparable from the attempt to grapple with the great subjects touched upon, sufficiently to initiate an earnest student into their significance and scope.

The pages of the work are strewn with evidence of the author's

wide reading, not only in his own special branches, but also in the sciences generally. Indeed, his conception of philosophy involves an accurate acquaintance with the methods and results of the various sciences; for, as he remarks, "The truth of philosophy lies involved in the truths of science. Without the teachable mind towards these latter truths, it has no means of acquiring material upon which to build, as upon a verifiable basis, its structure of supreme and rational truth." Not that any amount of knowledge of science will necessarily make a philosopher; for "positive, so-called exact knowledge, is the least of the things required. It is not knowledge which constitutes the philosopher, but thinking, concentrated, thorough, and methodically trained. To this the sum-total of scientific attainment is but a premise, with which it starts in its search for the last abstractions and highest ideas."

The general scope of Professor Ladd's work will be best learned from a summary of the table of contents. After an introductory chapter on the history and meaning of the term "Philosophy," he treats of the sources and problem of philosophy, and its relation to the particular sciences—specially to psychology. Then follow chapters on the Spirit, Method, and Divisions of Philosophy; and on the mental attitudes towards it, designated respectively Dogmatism, Scepticism, and Criticism. The succeeding sections are determined by the author's own division of Philosophy, *first*, Philosophy of the Real or Metaphysics in the wider meaning of the word, including also Theory of Knowledge, Philosophy of Nature and Philosophy of Mind; *second*, Philosophy of the Ideal, including Ethics and Aesthetics; and *third*, The Supreme Ideal-Real, or the Philosophy of Religion. By way of Epilogue there follows a chapter on "Tendencies and Schools in Philosophy." His definition of "*Philosophy—as—the progressive rational system of the principles pre-supposed and ascertained by the particular sciences, in their relation to ultimate reality*"—which he advances as a "provisional attempt to gather into a single sentence all the essential truths in the four classes of conceptions" which have appeared in history, and which he passes in review,—seems to me to have the fault of being too abstract, even if it fairly cover the subjects included under it. That of Wundt¹ to which Professor Ladd's rendering scarcely does justice, and which runs:—"The combination of the individual branches of knowledge into a view of the world and life, which shall meet alike the claims of the intellect and the needs of the heart" (*Gemüth*),² is preferable. Still more, that of Mr Herbert Spencer, "Knowledge of the lowest

¹ *System der Philosophie*. 1889.

² See Wundt, p. 2; Ladd, p. 26.

kind is *un-unified* knowledge; science is *partially-unified* knowledge; Philosophy is *completely-unified* knowledge;" provided that we include in the objects of knowledge, Reals as well as their Relations; and do not exclude from the Reals the Primal Real-God; nor from the Relations those between God and other Reals. But this would give us a true *Welt-Anschauung*—meaning by *Welt*, the Cosmos, and including in it God as well as its spiritual and material factors; that, too, both in their *Seyn* and *Werden*—being and development. But the limits assigned to this review cry, halt!

Only one other point shall I be able to notice. If Professor Ladd reckon himself to any school of philosophy it is to what he would understand by Monism; not, however, of the materialistic type of Noiré or Haeckel or Clifford. He distinguishes "two principal forms" thereof—the Realistic and Idealistic; and is of opinion that "neither of these, to the exclusion of the considerations upon which the other is based, can be looked to for a satisfactory philosophy: it must be a Monism that shall do justice to the facts and truths to which both Realism and Idealism appeal." "A purely realistic or a purely idealistic system of philosophy cannot be maintained. Every such position is but a point marked in the progress of the human mind toward a final and satisfactory Monism—a Monism which will find the unity of all Being and Knowledge, the World-Ground, in an ideal Reality, a realized Ideal. Such an One is nothing else than some rational, self-conscious, and personal Life." As to this last postulate, I thoroughly agree with Professor Ladd, though I am not sure that his use of the word Monism is not open to criticism. Monism, at all events in its recent forms, identifies the ultimate ground of the world with the ultimate Reals that constitute the world, be the Reals conceived as material only or as material and a sort of protoplasmic spiritual, both, however, coordinated. If a philosophy is to embrace *all the facts*—and unless it do so it is no true philosophy—it must, with Christianity, recognise, *first*, an eternal, living God; and *then*, a creation by the living God, in relation to which He is alike transcendent and immanent.

Professor Ladd's method and style, as I have already hinted, are not all that could be desired; but he is a vigorous, constructive thinker, and scrupulously fair in his exposition and criticism of divergent views. His work deserves a hearty welcome and careful study.

D. W. SIMON.

I. International Journal of Ethics.

*Devoted to the Advancement of Ethical Knowledge and Practice.
Issued Quarterly. No. 3, April. London: T. Fisher Unwin.*

II. Id. No. 4, July 1891.

I. OF the six essays of this number, three are by Americans—Professors C. H. Toy, William James, and Simon V. Patten. Professor Toy's article on *The Religious Element in Ethical Codes*, which strikes us as the best in the number, is an historical survey of the relations that have obtained between ethics and religion. The main thesis is, that the two are at first identical, afterwards become separated, in spite of the conservative influence of the priesthood (the analysis of which, by the way, ought to interest, if it does not flatter, clerical readers), but are ultimately reunited in the conception of a conscience, which knows no authority apart from its own ideals in "the life of man, which is the highest revelation of God" (pp. 310 f.). Professor James' article on *The Moral Philosopher and the Moral Life* is an exceedingly acute statement of what may be called ethical realism, the position, i.e., that there is no such thing as an ethical ideal that is not the ideal of somebody. Some readers will be staggered by the statement that, "in point of fact there are no absolute evils, and there are no non-moral goods" (p. 349); but that, Professor James will assure us, is because they are not philosophers. Professor Patten's article, *Another View of the Ethics of Land Tenure*, is something more than a "judicious blend" of the conflicting views of Mr Henry George and Professor Clark (art. in No. 1 of the *International Journal of Ethics*). It is an exceedingly able and carefully-balanced statement both of the economical and the ethical problem. Mr Leslie Stephen's article on *Social Equality* may suitably be referred to along with Mr J. S. Mackenzie's review of "*In Darkest England*" on the *wrong tack* (B. Bosanquet, M.A.: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co.), as forcible statements of the position that "in Utopia every human being" ought to be "so placed as to be capable of preparing himself for any other position, and should then go to the work for which he is best fitted" (p. 278). Mr Bosanquet's book (72 pp.)—eminently earnest and respectful in tone—certainly deserves careful consideration from General Booth and his friends. Miss Clara Collet's article on *Moral Tales*, as a means of pædagogic, is charming reading, although her confession of the "infinitesimal impression left on me then (i.e., in childhood) or since by any sermon or ethical discourse" must be somewhat disheartening to moral philosophers as well as to clergymen. The *School of Applied Ethics* is an an-

nouncement of an exceedingly enticing programme of what seems to be a kind of ethical conference, to be held (now actually being held), "beginning early in July and continuing six weeks, at some convenient summer resort in New England or New York." *School* is a more exact name, for there are lecturers and fees. The subjects are to be treated in three departments—Economics, History of Religions, and Ethics; and these are to be headed respectively by Professors Adams, Michigan; Toy, Harvard; and Adler, New York. The announcement is repeated with more details in No. 4. (below). The place of meeting is Plymouth, Mass., within an hour from Boston. Professor G. V. Gizycki's article on *The Right Final Aim of Life* insists that that aim is best defined as the greatest possible happiness of all, not as the satisfaction of one's own conscience. Professor Gizycki objects to the "unprovable assumption" involved in the introduction of any such third category as the "will of God," or the like, but his article seems to us to prove the complete impossibility of deciding between the altruistic and the egoistic category apart from the "unprovable" transcendental third of the religious consciousness. One falls back without shame upon the shorter Catechism (Q. 1).

II. This number comes to us too late to be noticed as it deserves. Readers of the first article—by Professor E. Caird—will await eagerly the publication of the author's Gifford Lectures, of which *The Modern Conception of the Science of Religion* is the first. The next two articles are papers of great solidity on *The Functions of Ethical Theory* and *The Morality of Nations* by Professors J. H. Hyslop and W. R. Sorley respectively. Mr James Ward's article is a trenchant criticism of J. S. Mill's projected but unfulfilled scheme of a science of "Ethology," in which human character was to be treated as a piece of mechanism, whose movements might be foretold with mathematical certainty. Mr R. W. Black's article on *Vice and Immorality* is perhaps not unfairly characterised as a statement in terms of dogmatic *philosophy* (instead of *theology*) of the doctrine of universal depravity. It is queer, but not unsuggestive. No one, who respects the authority of age, should miss reading the truly weighty words of the venerable F. W. Newman on *The Progress of Political Economy since Adam Smith*. There is something peculiarly refreshing in the radicalism of an octogenarian, who writes without bitterness, and who tells us that "our new claim of economists is to learn and to diffuse a sound knowledge of just and wise tenure of the land for the benefit of all, a topic which even Mrs Fawcett seems very little to understand" (p. 482). The paper headed *Discussions* makes, in a short essay on the moral aspect of "tips" and "gratuities," a good beginning in a direction, which will insure the interest of readers, who may find the longer articles

stiff reading, that, viz., of a condescension on the lighter minutiae of conduct by masters in the science of ethics. On the whole this is the brightest, and, in its range of topics, most varied number of the *Journal* that has yet appeared, and a perusal of the reviews of books in the small print at the end leaves us wishing that the editors had allowed more space for such excellent work. May it be hinted that the influence of our "cousins" in the matter of orthography is perhaps a little too prominent in all the numbers of the journal?

LEWIS A. MUIRHEAD.

Theologische Studien und Kritiken.

1891. *Drittes Heft und viertes Heft.*

EACH of these numbers contains three articles of immoderate length. The first in Part III. is by J. Kaftan, "Towards a Proof for the Truth of Christianity." The writer thinks that the philosophy of Kant offers no sufficient or permanent basis for the proof of Christianity. The true proof starts, not from the *a priori* (as Kant does)—a course which inevitably leads to the neglect of history and the rationalistic view of Revelation—but from the common consciousness, the knowledge of daily life, which gives generally valid results. Kant's view of the *a priori* moral law and the consequences of this view abolish the significance of history and make religion an adjunct of morality. But to the Christian his relation to God is the great thing, and salvation is bound to historical facts as a revelation in Jesus Christ. In the proof for Christianity there are two elements: the history and the personal factors, the personal appropriation. This individual factor is the product of history—the two are inseparable. We have to show that faith can be united in consciousness with all that is true, and has its natural place in our whole spiritual life and consciousness.

The next article is on the place of "Property in the Faith and Life of the Post-Apostolic Church," by H. Haller. After a list of his sources, the writer deals with four points. I. *The Estimation of Property* at the time. The prevailing view of the world was that of something evil, the Christian's enemy. It was set in sharp contrast with the future world, was under the power of the devil, and would soon be destroyed. The result was an uncompromising hostility to the present system and everything connected with it, a strict renunciation of its goods, voluntary poverty and abstinence from ordinary pleasures. II. *The Economic Position of the Christians*. The number of poor people was very large and was increased by persecu-

tions, confiscations, loss of worldly calling, and the care of widows and orphans. The "Widow Question" was the burning problem of the early church, which had quite sufficient otherwise to employ all its powers. Its position was thus not very happy, and necessarily became worse as the number of its converts rose. III. *The Active Charity of the Christians*—one of the chief features of their life. Their generosity is attested by many witnesses, and was shewn by the readiness to share their goods with any who were in need. At first the motive of this had been the purely religious one of love to brother men resting on love to God. But in the Post-Apostolic church this motive gave place to others. Among these were the sense of belonging to a common brotherhood, the changed view of "good works" as a means to salvation, the strong hope of a reward in the heavenly kingdom which was so near, and the power of alms to clear the giver from sin. In these motives are to be found the germs which later developed into peculiarly Roman Catholic doctrines. IV. *The Church Support of the Poor*. The Church undertook the duty as a church. This was no imitation of heathen societies, which were more like our insurance companies. The public alms was a sacrifice in the Christian service, a religious act of dedication. All who were out of work or incapable of it, widows, orphans, aged, weak, prisoners and travelling brothers, had a right to this charity. A special form of it was the community of goods. This did not mean (as with the Essenes) that no man could call anything his own, but was rather a high form of voluntary offering given for the good of all. The organs of this public charity were different at different times, from the "seven men" of the primitive community to the monarchical Bishop of Ignatius. Generally speaking, it was the head of the community who distributed the fund, and this act was his most important function. The article is furnished with many quotations from contemporary literature in support of its contentions.

The second article in Part IV. is an interesting discussion of James ii. 14-26, by G. Schwarz. The usual reading of the passage is that James sees in Faith and Works two different principles whose common working conditions justification. The writer's view is that to James, Faith is the principle of Works. In v. 14 the subject is a certain *assertion* made by some one that there is a faith without works. This assertion, the Apostle says, is senseless, and his meaning is that whoever has no works can have no faith. He does not admit a faith apart from works. What of the next clause then: "Can Faith save thee?" The meaning here is: If this man says "I have faith," it is a mere assertion; and "faith" in the question is used ironically—"Can this mere assertion save you?" The example in v. 15-16, proves this. The empty claim to have faith is compared to the

empty order, "Be clothed." The ground thought then is: Faith is the principle of works and *necessarily* produces them. The separation of them is mere assertion, empty words. Hence (v. 17), Faith without works is dead in its own nature (*καθ' ἑαυτήν*); it has no life-power. To the false objector in v. 14 is now opposed an apologist for the true view in v. 18, the whole of which belongs to the new speaker. Here the true relation of Faith and Works is set out. The latter half of the verse contains two assertions—(1) Where faith is works must be, and (2) where works are faith must be. From both points of view the same conclusion is reached, that Faith is the sole principle of works. This conclusion is illustrated and enforced in the following verses, where the connection is as follows: (1) Your "faith" is a mere recognition of doctrine, like that of Devils—an ironical statement (v. 19); (2) this boasted "faith" is no faith (v. 20); (3) the general truth illustrated from the Father of Faith. The presupposition here is that Abraham was justified by Faith, and the objector would rely on this. The Justification by Faith is common ground and affords the implied major proposition. The minor is v. 21, "But Abraham was justified also by works," and the conclusion is that his faith was one with works (v. 21); (4) this is confirmed by what follows, the meaning of v. 22 being: "You see that Faith and Works are an inseparable thing, that Faith is always active and develops itself in this activity. Hence the two conclusions: (a) God reckoned Abraham's faith for righteousness. This could only be so if works are already included in it. Hence in this scripture Faith is represented as the principle of Works (v. 23); and (b) a man is justified not by mere confession of doctrine alone—"Faith only"—but by a faith which is an active power (v. 24); (5) another example, Rahab, who is similarly treated (v. 25); (6) the conclusion (in v. 20) confirmed by an illustration. Mere belief without living power is like a body without the spirit (v. 26).

The other articles are: in Part III., "Luther and Bigamy:" in Part IV., "Eupolemus as Chronologer, and his References to Josephus and Manetho," and "Johann v. Goch."

FREDERICK J. RAE.

Notices.

SEVERAL additions, each of value in its own way, have been made of late to the *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*. One of the best of these is Dr Perowne's volume on the Epistle to the Galatians.¹ The exegesis is exact and cautious throughout. It is at its

¹ The Epistle to the Galatians, with Introduction and Notes. By the Rev. E. H. Perowne, D.D., &c. Cambridge, at the University Press. Fcap. 8vo, pp. xxviii., 91. Price 1s. 6d.

best in the most testing passages, as in the closing verses of the second chapter. The paragraph on Hagar and Sarah in the fourth chapter is discreetly handled. But in the catalogue of the graces which make the *fruit of the spirit* (v. 22, 23), is it according to the context to make "faith" include both *fidelity* and *trustfulness*? The questions of the *place* and *date* of composition are considered with due regard to the indeterminate nature of the *data*. The former is left without a decision between Ephesus, Corinth, and some place "on the journey between Macedonia and Achaia." With respect to the latter, Dr Perowne fixes upon the year A.D. 57, placing Galatians a little later than Second Corinthians and a little earlier than Romans. It is to be noticed that, in looking at the question of date, he disowns the importance attached by some of our best interpreters to the "so soon" in i. 6. He takes this phrase not as a particle of time, but as an adverb of manner, "readily, hastily, or rashly."

The Commentary on the Epistles to the Thessalonians¹ which appears under Professor Findlay's name was assigned originally to Dr Moulton of Cambridge, and his valuable assistance has been enjoyed to some extent in the preparation of the volume. The book contains much that is both just and suggestive, alike in the exegesis and in the discussion of literary and doctrinal questions. We commend to notice the excellent statements in the third and fourth chapters of the introduction on the nature of Paul's Gospel, its adaptation to the case of the Thessalonians, the occasion of his writing, his presentation of the moral issues of the Gospel, and in particular the place given to the doctrines of Christ's *Parousia* and the final Judgment. An interesting Appendix gives an outline of the history of the doctrine of Antichrist both as it appears in Scripture and as it is developed in the theology of the Church. On this subject and on the general interpretation of the Apocalyptic sections of the New Testament, there is much in common between Professor Findlay and the late Mr Simcox in his scholarly, modest, and most careful study of the Book of Revelation.² With Mr Simcox he takes the *woman* of Rev. xii. to be the Jewish Church. The *ten-horned beast* of John is "the secular antagonist of the Man-child," the son of the *woman*. The second wild-beast of Rev. xiii. has a *religious* part assigned, "resembling that of a corrupt

¹ The Epistles to the Thessalonians, with Introduction, Notes, and Map. By the Rev. George G. Findlay, B.A., Professor of Biblical Literature in the Wesleyan College, Headingley. Cambridge, at the University Press. Fcap. 8vo, pp. xliii., 183. Price 2s.

² The Revelation of S. John the Divine, with Notes and Introduction. By the late Rev. William Henry Simcox, M.A. Cambridge, at the University Press. Ex. fop. 8vo, pp. lx., 174. Price 3s.

Church, serving a lawless, despotic State ;" and the *harlot-woman* is the imperial city of Rome. In this part of the subject Professor Findlay agrees largely with Hofmann's interpretations, and with the views of Dorner and Alford. His own view of the Pauline section on the *Man of Sin* is that it has a progressive fulfilment. It is a prophecy, as he puts it, which is "carried into effect from time to time, under the action of Divine laws operating through human history, in partial and transitional forms, which prefigure and may contribute to its final realisation."

The Syndics of the Cambridge University Press have laid all Biblical scholars under a great debt of gratitude by the new edition of the LXX.,¹ which they have in progress, and of which we have now, after the lapse of four years, the second volume. It would be difficult to produce anything better in form, in clearness of type, or in accuracy. It bids fair to hold its ground for many a day as the best manual edition of the Septuagint. The difficulties of the task, which is in the careful hands of Dr Swete, are of no ordinary magnitude. They can be understood only by those who have some experience of the textual criticism of the version. The time has not yet come for the production of an ideal edition. There are some no doubt who would, if possible, anticipate that time. To them it may be a disappointment that there has not been a larger and bolder application of the critical process, and that the Editor has not allowed himself the liberty of correcting a number of passages in which the MSS. seem clearly at fault. But it will be generally granted that in view of the existing condition of things, a wise discretion has been exercised. It is satisfactory at the same time to have the Sinaitic text, as well as that of A and B, in the case of the book of Tobit (the secondary character of the former, however, being indicated by its being printed in smaller type beneath the latter) ; and to find the proper order of the chapters of Ecclesiasticus restored. The right course has also been adopted in breaking up the Psalter into its several books, and in following the stichometrical arrangement in the case of the Poetical Books. Where the MSS. differ in the number of lines or in the grouping of words, the variations are carefully chronicled in the notes. As regards the singular difference between the Greek version and the old Latin in the arrangement of Ecclesiasticus xxx.-xxxvi., Dr Swete adopts Fritzsche's explanation that in the *exemplar* from which the existing Greek MSS. of that section seem to have been taken, there had been a transposition of the pairs of leaves, while the Latin version

¹ The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press by Henry Barclay Swete, D.D., &c., Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Regius Professor of Divinity. Vol. II. 1 Chronicles—Tobit. Cambridge, at the University Press. 8vo, pp. xv., 879. Price 7s. 6d.

has been taken from a copy in which this had not occurred. Believing, therefore, that the Latin text represents in this matter an older and sounder text than that of our extant Greek MSS., he has given the Latin order. In addition to B & A other three uncials are used for the Psalms—the *Graeco-Latinum Veronense* (of the Western type, and perhaps of the sixth century), the *Purpureum Turicense* (a superb codex, probably of the seventh century), and the *Fragmenta Papyracea Londinensia* for which Lagarde claims the highest antiquity. In the other Poetical Books the testimony of the great Paris palimpsest, *Codex Ephraemi Syri Rescriptus Parisiensis*, is used along with that of B & A. A preface of eleven pages furnishes much interesting information on the characteristics of these documents, and on the critical sources generally. Dr Swete and his coadjutors are to be congratulated on the successful completion of the second volume, and in particular on what they have done for the Greek text of the Psalter.

Professor Kirkpatrick's volume on the Psalms¹ will take a place of its own. With all that we have on the Psalter, there has been a want of a handy Commentary, exhibiting in compact form the results of recent scholarship, and at the same time taking us into the living spirit of the book. In this instalment of his work Professor Kirkpatrick has done much to supply the want. But he has done more than that. He has given us the fruits of his own independent studies, and these we are glad to have. He has reached conclusions of his own on many points of interest. These are always modestly stated and carefully reasoned out. He claims a "certain weight" for the Titles of the Psalms. In terms it may seem more than most will grant. In point of fact, it cannot amount to much, in face of the concessions that these Titles "cannot be supposed to give certain information as to their authors," and that "many of the Psalms bearing the name of David or Asaph cannot have been written by them." He notices Ewald's ingenious conjecture, but only to reject it, that li.-lxxii. originally followed xli., the Davidic Psalms as a whole making a collection by themselves, and the Levitical Psalms following in the three sub-divisions of Korahite, Asaphite, and Korahite Supplement. He points to Jer. xxxiii. 11 as a witness to the fact that the Doxology which occurs only in the later books of the Psalter (Ps. c. 4, 5; cvi. 1; &c.) had been in use before the Captivity, and makes the reasonable supposition that "some of the Temple Psalms in the later books of the Psalter may have been revivals or adaptations of ancient

¹ The Book of Psalms, with Introduction and Notes. By the Rev. A. F. Kirkpatrick, B.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; Regius Professor of Hebrew. Book I. Psalms i.-xli., Cambridge, at the University Press. Extra fop. 8vo, pp. lxxix., 227. Price 3s. 6d.

hymns." On the subject of age and authorship he disavows, of course, the uncritical spirit which claims the mass for David; but he thinks the new criticism goes beyond the mark in its disposition to "refer the whole Psalter, or at least the greater part of it, to the period after the Return from Babylon." He makes short work of the alleged irreconcilable difference between the David of the Psalms and the David of history, and claims some regard for the Jewish tradition, which, in his opinion, can scarcely be altogether at fault in "assigning the foundation of the Psalter to David." He attaches more importance to the not infrequent references to David in the later books of the Old Testament in connection with institutions and the service of the sanctuary; to the allusion to the "songs of Zion" (Ps. cxxxvii. 3, 4) as songs well known to the Babylonian captors; and especially to the incorporation of Ps. xviii. in 2 Samuel. While he admits, therefore, that some Psalms may date from the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, that some may be from the pen of Jeremiah, and that with the Return from the Exile there was a great revival of Psalmody, he is opposed to the views of Reuss, Wellhausen, and others, and takes the case to be one which should make us "hesitate to assign Psalms to the Maccabean period, except on the most cogent internal evidence." His remarks on these questions are sober and well considered. He leaves us uncertain, however, how far he is prepared to go. That will appear only in connection with the exegesis of each particular Psalm of the later period. Two of the most important chapters in the Introduction are the viiith and ixth, which treat of the *Messianic Hope* and *Some Points in the Theology of the Psalms*. There are several things in these which might tempt us into a lengthened discussion. The statement on the idea of the *Future Life* is one of the best things in the book. The general result is that, while death is never regarded as extinction of being, "the continuance of existence after death has no moral or religious element in it;" that the hope of a resurrection from the dead does not appear: that, nevertheless, such Psalms as xvi., xvii., xlix., lxxiii. have in them the "germ and principle of the doctrine of eternal life" in what they affirm of the fellowship of God; and that "there is nothing which comes to light in the New Testament which does not already exist in germ in the Psalms." We cannot enter here into the details of Professor Kirkpatrick's interpretations. It is enough to say that the exegesis is in sympathy with the spirit as well as the letter of the Psalms, and generally helpful. It also keeps well within the proper limits of exegesis, notwithstanding the principle, so capable of misapplication, which is expressed in the Introduction (p. xii.), namely, that for us the meaning of the Psalms "is not limited to the 'original sense,' if by that is meant only that which the writers could recognise in their own words."

The small volume contributed by Dr Wright¹ on a very large subject to the *Theological Educator* series contains a remarkable mass and variety of information on the Old Testament books. The plan adopted is to record in briefest form the ascertained results of criticism, and to furnish therewith the necessary references to authorities. The lists of works bearing on the different points stated are very full, and will be of much use to those who wish to go further into these inquiries. The book is written in a wise and courageous spirit. It indicates no leaning on the author's own part to extreme positions, but it is alive to the necessity of hypotheses, and to the fact that even theories which have ultimately been given up have yet "frequently been productive of great results." The Graf-Wellhausen theory is handled with great candour and perfect fairness. Dr Wright recognises the repugnance which it is apt to excite on the part of the orthodox expositor. But he points out that it "does not necessarily make the Pentateuch a mere fabrication of designing priests, as is sometimes affirmed," and that this should be borne in mind in setting forth its supposed consequences. Other matters at present in contention are dealt with not less judiciously. The accounts of the several books of the Old Testament are prefaced by a series of chapters which give condensed reports of the state of the Hebrew Text, the history of Hebrew punctuation, the Massorah, the Targums, the Syriac, Greek, and Latin versions, &c. There are some statements in these to which exception might be taken. But the book as a whole gives an accurate and informing survey of an immense field.

The last contribution made to the same series by the late Mr Simcox² is also a book of value. It is printed from the author's MSS., under the superintendence of his brother, Mr G. A. Simcox. It forms the second part of his work on the Language of the New Testament, and in several respects this part seems to us superior to the first. Mr Simcox's exact and delicate perception finds its proper field in these analyses of the distinctive styles of the different New Testament writers, and not less in the determination of affinities between different groups. The editor calls special attention to the evidence furnished of the fact that "in vocabulary, though not in style, St Luke stands closely related to the disputed or disputable works of St Paul on one side, and to the so-called Catholic epistles" on the other. The table which is drawn up in one of the appendices in

¹ An Introduction to the Old Testament. By Charles H. H. Wright, D.D., Ph.D., &c. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Fop. 8vo, pp. xvi.-226. Price 2s 6d.

² The Writers of the New Testament. Their Style and Characteristics. By the late Rev. William Henry Simcox, M.A., Rector of Harlaxton. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Fop. 8vo, pp. viii., 190. Price 2s. 6d.

illustration of this, deserves close consideration. But there are many things less elaborately handled, which are also of great interest—the purity of the Greek in the epistle to the Hebrews (which, in Dr Hort's opinion, is about as little Hellenistic as is that of Polybius), the individuality of Peter's style, the Hebraism of the Apocalypse, the Hebraistic elements in the Synoptical gospels, and various others.

We are glad to receive new editions of Mr Horton's book on *Inspiration*,¹ and Dr Dale's on the *Gospels*.² The former, a careful and reverent inquiry into what can be gathered from Scripture itself on the subject of its own claims and character, deserves a good reception. It is the kind of book that to some may seem at first to speak strange things, but which will be found a better aid to a strong and intelligent faith the more it is studied. The latter is a volume which shows some of Dr Dale's many great gifts at their best. Nothing could be better put in its own way than the statement in the first part of the book on the argument from experience; and it would be hard to find a more luminous exposition of the main points in the historical argument, than is given in the last ten chapters. It requires a strong hand to do either of these things, and they are both done with admirable lucidity here. There is, however, a yet more difficult thing to do. That is to adjust the relations between the experimental and the historical, and we cannot say that this is accomplished in Dr Dale's volume. On the contrary, we confess to taking away the impression that, as far as the argument of this book goes, splendid as that in many respects is, the religion in question might be one of ideas rather than of historical facts, and that the *written* Word need have no place or only a subordinate place. The Reformers saw farther into this question than their successors have done. Dr Dale may have more to say on this subject. In any case, he has done a public service in exhibiting the historical trustworthiness of the Gospels, as we see it done in this volume, in a way to commend it so powerfully to others as well as Masters of Arts.

Among new editions we notice a second and revised issue of Mr Lias's very useful discussion of the problem of Miracle³; and a

¹ *Inspiration and the Bible. An Inquiry.* By Robert F. Horton, M.A., &c. Fifth Edition. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 8vo, pp. xiv., 256. Price 3s. 6d.

² *The Living Christ and the Four Gospels.* By R. W. Dale, LL.D., Birmingham. Second Edition. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. 312. Price 6s.

³ *Are Miracles Credible?* By the Rev. John James Lias, M.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii., 280. Price 3s. 6d.

third edition of *Natural Religion*¹—a very able book, which has fascinated some only less than *Ecce Homo*,—the real scope of which, however, probably remains imperfectly understood, notwithstanding the protest made by its author in the important Preface to the second edition, that his ideas are Christian ideas, unmistakable Biblical ideas, taken at first hand from Scripture itself. We mention also with great satisfaction the new issue of the memorable “Letters of Samuel Rutherford,”² a book so dear to the piety of Scotland. The introductory notices from the sympathetic pen of Dr Andrew Bonar, are of great interest. The volume is an exceedingly handsome one. The publishers have left nothing undone to make it the richest in contents and the most superb in style of all the editions of Rutherford, and these amount now to a large number. The new volume of the *Expositor*³ is equal to any of its predecessors in solid value. It contains fewer papers of detailed or popular exposition than some of the former. But it has more for the scholar. Those by Professor Ramsay, Professor Sanday, and Professor Marshall, not to mention others, are of great value to the New Testament student. The contributions of the last-named scholar on the Aramaic Gospel, are sufficient of themselves to give character to the volume. We welcome also the first *Annual Index of the Review of Reviews* (London, Mowbray House, Norfolk Street), a volume costing much labour and making an excellent guide to an immense storehouse of information. We hope it may be the first of a long series. In a modest spirit Mr Cameron⁴ writes on the question of Revelation, with the view of bringing into the foreground the “special personal agency of God, which really lies behind all the critical questions regarding the Scripture writings themselves.” The opening chapters deal with the possibility and need of Revelation; and the closing chapters discuss the trustworthiness of the Bible in respect of its agreement with science, its historical accuracy, &c. The strength of the argument is in the chapters which treat of the Bible as the Record of Revelation, the Divine Element in the Record, and the Nature of Inspiration. Dr

¹ *Natural Religion*. By the Author of “*Ecce Homo*.” London: Macmillan & Co. Globe 8vo, pp. xii., 252. Price 6s.

² *Letters of Samuel Rutherford*. With a Sketch of his Life and Biographical Notices of his Correspondents. By the Rev. Andrew A. Bonar, D.D. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Demy 8vo, pp. xx., 744. Price 10s. 6d.

³ *The Expositor*. Edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. Fourth Series, Vol. III. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. 476. Price 7s. 6d.

⁴ *Revelation and its Record*. By the Rev. A. B. Cameron, M.A., B.D. Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii., 294. Price 4s.

Rankin's work on the "Creed in Scotland,"¹ has a practical object in view. It is the result of much inquiry into the when, how, and why of the disuse of the Apostles' Creed in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. It is a plea for its restoration to the place it once had among us. Whether all that Dr Rankin expects to be gained would actually be gained is doubtful. Even this formulary has its contested clauses, and contains much that is provocative of controversy, if it contains still more that serves to unite. But there is much to be said in favour of its re-introduction into our congregational services, and Dr Rankin says it with all the force of the strongest conviction. He brings together at the same time much matter bearing on the history and doctrine of the Creed. This is of interest, though there are some controvertible points in it. A good index is greatly needed. We miss evidence, too, of acquaintance with important German literature on the Creed. In Dr Taylor's work on the *Miracles*² we have an excellent specimen of pulpit exposition, full of sense and practical power, but proceeding all the while on exact study. It makes no pretence to rival the works of professed scholars, but seeks rather to supply the homiletical element that is wanting in these, and this it does with the skill of one who knows the preacher's art. The Bishop of Manchester gives a scholarly account of some important aspects and circumstances of Christ's *Teaching*,³ the nature of its inspiration, its relation to contemporary beliefs and practices, its master-thought, its ethical perfection. The first two chapters are of great interest, discussing as they do in a free but reverent spirit the questions of the inerrancy of Scripture and the limitations of our Lord's knowledge. On both questions he repudiates the *a priori* or dogmatic method, and considers them in the light of specific test-cases. On the former he concludes that "inspiration guarantees not the special human authorship of a passage, or the unimpaired preservation of a formal institution, but the divine origin and increasing spirituality of the religious truth which these are made to symbolise or express." On the latter he holds equally by the perfection of Christ's Divinity and the integrity

¹ The Creed in Scotland. An Exposition of the Apostles' Creed. With Extracts from Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism of 1552, John Calvin's Catechism of 1556, and a Catena of Ancient Latin and other Hymns. By James Rankin, D.D., Minister of Muthil. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi., 366. Price 7s. 6d.

² The Miracles of our Lord expounded and illustrated. By William M. Taylor, D.D., LL.D., &c. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi., 449. Price 7s. 6d.

³ The Teaching of Christ: Its Conditions, Secret, and Results. By the Rev. J. Moorhouse, Bishop of Manchester. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi., 167. Price 3s. nett.

of His humanity, affirming that the latter implies the emptying Himself of "all those Divine attributes which would have interfered with the reality of His Manhood," and consequently a certain measure of nescience. That is the unmistakable meaning, not only of some of our Lord's sayings, but of certain facts in His life. It is to be taken, however, with the conditions which these words and incidents themselves suggest. It is so construed by Dr Moorhouse, and beyond this he justly deems it vain to speculate.

We have an elaborate study of the Apocalypse by Mr Garland, Rector of Binstead,¹ which proceeds upon the principle that fulfilled prophecy is the chief key to the interpretation of the book. A table is given (pp. 497-98) of the symbolical meanings which the author assigns to the numbers and periods of time. Some of these are reasonable enough. Others (*e.g.*, 100 = the cosmic superficial area regulated by Law; 1000 = perfected cosmic comprehensiveness regulated by Law) are far-fetched. The practical aspects of the symbolism are often well put. One of the most interesting things in the volume is an Essay in the Appendix, the object of which is to show that science and revelation are not in antagonism as the subject of the eternity of matter. Under the title of *Gethsemane*,² Mr Newman Hall brings together a series of meditations, designed for the consolation of the afflicted. Written in the devout spirit and direct style to which we are accustomed in their author, they are admirably adapted to the object they have in view. America sends us an interesting study of Saul of Tarsus in poetic form.³ The blank verse is not always of the best. Some of the minor incidents and characters suffer from a certain lack of probability or proportion. A strained view is taken of what Saul was in his Jewish days, a man beguiled into resistance of God's Spirit by the selfish ambition of connecting his name with a revival of Israel. There is, however, no want of life in the poem. The figures of Stephen and Gamaliel are powerfully drawn. There are passages, some noble, some pathetic, and some subtle, which cannot fail to please in the portraiture of the hero himself. Bishop Westcott's volume on *Religious Thought in the West*,⁴ though it consists of matter already before the public in

¹ The Practical Teaching of the Apocalypse. By the Rev. G. V. Garland, &c. London: Longmans & Co. Cr. 8vo., pp. 498. Price 16s.

² Gethsemane: or, Leaves of Healing from the Garden of Grief. By Newman Hall, LL.B. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo., pp. viii., 336. Price 5s.

³ The Epic of Saul. By William Cleaver Wilkinson. New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls. 8vo., pp. 386. Price 10s.

⁴ Essays in the History of Religious Thought in the West. By Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., D.C.L., Lord Bishop of Durham, &c., London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo., pp. vi., 398. Price 6s.

another form, more than justifies its existence. We are glad to have these valuable essays in collected form. They are on very different subjects—from the myths of Plato to the relation of Christianity to art. Yet there is a certain unity in them. For one thing they make a somewhat elaborate vindication of the Greek spirit, and in particular of the Greek type of theology as contrasted with the Latin. Bishop Westcott's sympathies are with Origen and Clement, rather than with Augustine. We are not sure that he quite does justice to the Bishop of Hippo. Nevertheless the essay on Origen, which is largely a pleading in behalf of the Greek theology, seems to us the best in the book—an essay which of itself would have given worth to any volume. We are entirely in sympathy with the appreciative paper on Benjamin Whichcote. The essays on *Æschylus* and *Euripides* expound with great skill the prophetic vocation of the former, and the religious teaching of the latter. As we might expect, too, Bishop Westcott says something to purpose on Browning's "View of Life."

S. D. F. SALMOND.

Record of Select Literature.

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